# RECOLLECTIONS OF DEAN FREMANTLE

EDITED BY
THE MASTER OF
THE TEMPLE

Class 92 Book F885
General Theological Seminary Library
Chelsea Square, New York

*Purchased from the fund bequeathed to the Seminary by*
EUGENE AUGUSTUS HOFFMAN, D. D.
DEAN 1879-1902

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/recollectionsofd0000mast

# RECOLLECTIONS OF DEAN FREMANTLE

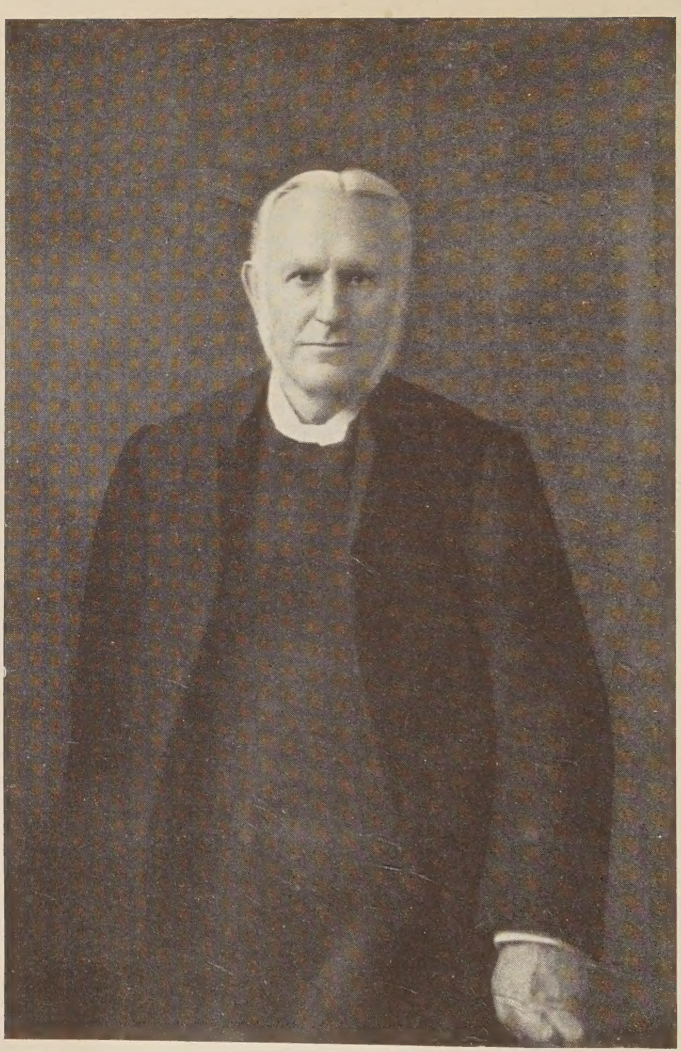

*Photo: A. G. Gabell.*

yours most sincerely,
W. R. Fremantle.

# RECOLLECTIONS *of* DEAN FREMANTLE

CHIEFLY BY HIMSELF

Edited by

THE MASTER OF THE TEMPLE

*With Three Illustrations*

GEN. THEO. SEMINARY
LIBRARY
NEW YORK

CASSELL AND COMPANY, LTD
London, New York, Toronto and Melbourne
1921

92
F885
70633

UNION THEOL. SEMINARY
LIBRARY
NEW YORK

# PREFACE

In religious thought over long periods of time there is observable, by those who study it, an action and reaction between authority and freedom. When thought has become systematized and traditional, and has embodied in creeds and institutions the reflection and learning of many minds, some of them powerful and well equipped, it takes on naturally an air of importance, if not of majesty, and gathers around it a multitude of persons who first accept and then defer to it.

But after awhile the process is reversed. What has been established and accepted becomes questioned, examined, and perhaps rejected by some later thinker or thinkers who start with a bias towards inquiry. The temper of inquiry is as useful as the temper of authority. Authority itself is enriched and strengthened by inquiry, but it is also changed.

The subject of this short memoir, chiefly autobiographic, was one whose personal bias was in

favour of freedom of inquiry in matters of thought. And his bias brought him the penalties and the rewards of that temper of mind—a certain antipathy from those whose temper is to defer to authority, yet at the same time a certain sympathy also from those whose bias is the other way.

The reader will be struck, therefore, by a kind of oscillation, not always equal, in the opinions concerning him of Fremantle's contemporaries, and in the degrees of influence which he exercised. Sometimes he was esteemed as an opener of new paths to walk in, sometimes criticized as one who caused others to stumble and miss their way. And these opposite currents of opinion are reflected in some of his more intimate and private thoughts here recorded.

It was a matter of some surprise to the present writer when the Dean requested him to read the notes which for many months he had been preparing at Ripon, with a touching consciousness of their imperfection and incompleteness from an autobiographic point of view. I had never been identified with his intellectual position, for he did not, and does not now, seem to me to allow enough for the organic element in Christianity; but he

had seen my short memoir of the first Vice-Chancellor of Leeds, and knew that in all matters of religious discussion I was against foreclosing the issue, and had in theological assemblies been a hinderer of what is known as "howling down" any setter-forth of new doctrine, and a favourer of the less Ephesian and more Athenian attitude of willingness to hear such persons again if they seemed to have somewhat to say and not to be mere babblers. It may have been for one or other of these causes that the request was made; and when I saw the material and considered it in the light of the Bampton Lectures and other books which Fremantle had published, it seemed to me worth putting together, if only that it might form part of that quarry which some future historian ought to use who will record the development of the English Church during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

More than one book has been written to build up the memorial of the earlier Evangelical Revival, and of the Tractarian Movement at Oxford, but we still await the historian who will undertake the more difficult labour of tracing the movement which is giving shape to the religious thoughts of

a new generation, which has to reckon with new discoveries and new methods of investigation in all departments of knowledge.

A Cambridge doctor has lately declared that "the old orthodoxy is in ruins," and that a new one has to be built up. It is a fine rhetorical flourish, but not to be accepted without serious qualification. There is an "old orthodoxy" which never is and never can be in ruins, because it is just the art of thinking right, and which includes the putting new wine into new bottles, so that it may serve the needs of man for a time, and from time to time; that is the orthodoxy of Christ Himself, and it is never in ruins because it rests on the sure principle of the Church as the organ of truth being the Church of all generations, not saying only and always the same old things, but bringing out of her treasures things new and old.

This newness of thought and word, when the need of man requires it, has had its apostles and prophets in different ages, and some of them, though they have had to wait long to be recognized, have at length been justified as children of wisdom. Such justification comes through the clear eyes and true words of fair writers of history.

# Preface

If one of these arises to take in hand the history of religion in England from 1850 to 1950, he may perhaps find something which he will not wish to ignore in the thought and writings of that company of men whose first aim was not to make or serve a party, but to believe and preach the truth as they saw it.

W. H. D.

# CONTENTS


| CHAPTER | | PAGE |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | 1831–1849—Birth, Parentage, Schooldays at Cheam and Eton | 1 |
| 2. | 1849–1853—Oxford | 27 |
| 3. | 1854–1861—Ordination—Curacy at Claydon—Vicar of Lewknor—Chaplain to Archbishop Tait | 50 |
| 4. | 1861–1882—Vicar of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square | 73 |
| 5. | 1882–1895—Canterbury and Balliol | 90 |
| 6. | 1895–1916—Fremantle as Dean of Ripon | 117 |
| 7. | Nunc Dimittis | 135 |
| Two Appreciations: | | |
| | 1. By the Right Reverend Lucius F. M. B. Smith, D.D., Bishop Suffragan of Knaresborough | 143 |
| | 2. By the Rev. H. D. A. Major, M.A., Principal of Ripon Hall, Oxford | 147 |
| Peace and War: | | |
| | "Excuses for War": A Sermon preached in Canterbury Cathedral | 157 |
| Index | | 175 |

# RECOLLECTIONS OF DEAN FREMANTLE

## CHAPTER I

### 1831–1849

#### BIRTH, PARENTAGE, SCHOOLDAYS AT CHEAM AND ETON

DOMINANT parties, whether in Church or State, usually manage to blow their own trumpets loudly enough to capture public attention for the time of their domination. As that begins to wane other sounds assert themselves, and the public mind asks: "Who are these new voices, and what are they saying?"

For the middle period of the nineteenth century, the decades from 1840-60, the air of English public life was full of the sounds of what has come to be called by the names "the Oxford Movement," "the Tractarian Movement," "the Catholic Revival"; and great was the stir which accompanied it, and widespread have been its

effects. Many have been the books which record one or other of its phases or enshrine the names and lives of its more prominent leaders; and among these books none has stood out so pre-eminent as Newman's "Apologia pro Vitâ Suâ" and Dean Church's "The Oxford Movement, 1833-1845," which, however, was not published until 1891, by which time it had become possible to review the events of the Movement in truer perspective, but still with the freshness imparted by a writer who could claim to have been an eye-witness of the events themselves.

But the time seems now to have arrived when some endeavour should be made to put on record a connected account of the force in many respects correlative to the Oxford Movement, though diverging from its methods, which at the present time appears to have the promise of renewing the strength of the Church, by becoming strong in those points where the earlier Movement was weak, and which, if only its leaders develop the capacity of construction, may accomplish in the twentieth century for the life of the Church an even greater work than the Tractarians accomplished in the century preceding.

# The "Broad Church"

The biographies of particular men will not achieve such a history as needs to be written, but they are of incalculable use in providing material from which that history may one day be fashioned. And it is not only the biography of one or two protagonists that will form the material so to be used, but memoirs also of men of less calibre and eminence will be of value if in some way they had a special bent of their own and contributed convictions rather different from those of the men of first rank.

In English Church life during the last sixty or seventy years no such widely current descriptive terms have been in use as the party names High Church, Low Church, and Broad Church. But while most people have some definite idea of what the two first names stand for, it would probably puzzle many readers to set out with any clearness for what they think the third stands except as something distinct from the other two. It is towards elucidating that question that the present memoir of the late Dean Fremantle has been undertaken, and in the hope that the record of his life and opinions may not only preserve the recollection of a mind and personality singularly

attractive to his own circle of friends, but also illustrate the earlier stages of movements now gathering increasing force and showing a likelihood to shape those forms of religious life and ecclesiastical polity for which the future waits, though of course it may be but some small thing which any one single mind will contribute.

The Dean himself did not like party names and labels and would have been averse from classing himself with this or that group. But it would be the merest affectation to pretend that the world itself did not so class him and associate him with the school we have mentioned as that of the Broad Church, a term which first came into use through an article in the *Edinburgh Review* as far back as 1854.

In the autobiographical notes which the Dean was compiling near the end of his life there occurs a sentence which reveals how, underneath his brave and cheerful demeanour, he yet felt in his heart a certain pain that his opinions had not commended him to everyone whose good will he would have valued. That sentence will be found in the third of the following memoranda with which he prefaced the scattered recollections, and

it lends a certain pathos to the task of anyone entrusted with the work of using his material for the purpose of preserving a connected record of his life.

MEMORANDA

"The writer of an autobiography is, I think, bound to show what good he considers may be aimed at by it. There are several points which I have kept before my mind, apart from the response to the wishes of my friends, which have impelled me to write.

"1. There are facts, persons and causes which have remained little known or have passed out of memory but of which my connexion with them makes me desirous to perpetuate the importance.

"2. As one who has been engaged in the attempt to make true religion the dominant power of life in all its phases, I wish to trace the process by which this great result may be aimed at, apart from partisanship or misunderstandings.

"3. Since my action has in many cases brought me and others into disesteem, I have a not unreasonable wish to vindicate myself and them.

"4. Since, as I hold, each man is bound as a servant of God and his fellows to set forth in

his life some supreme aim to which the whole is an attempt to contribute, I wish to make such a contribution in the short remainder of time that an octogenarian may have left to him."

William Henry Fremantle came of a long-lived family on both sides. He was born on December 12, 1831, at Swanbourne, in Buckinghamshire, at the house of his father, then Sir Thomas Fremantle, M.P. for Buckinghamshire and Whip to the Conservative Party, who afterwards was made a peer of the realm as the first Lord Cottesloe, and having served as Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Secretary at the War Office, Chief Secretary for Ireland, was from his special connexion with finance called upon to attend the promulgation of the Budget year by year for nearly seventy years, viz. from 1826, under Mr. Canning, to the year of his death. As his son notes in his memoranda: "It was an important era, the time of the Second French Revolution, which had a profound effect upon English political life, and helped in the passing of the Reform Bill with all the changes consequent upon it; the time also of the abolition

of slavery in the British Empire and of the rise of the Oxford Movement, strong but of mixed value in the religious life of the country." His father's father was a son of one of Nelson's captains who had fought at Copenhagen and Trafalgar, and had been wounded at Teneriffe in the same action in which Nelson lost his arm. He died in command of the British Fleet off Naples in 1819, after a series of successful services in which he won back the Ionian Islands for England and took Trieste from the French. It was for these services that his son, the Dean's father, was made a baronet.

His mother was a daughter of Sir George Nugent, who after long service in Canada and the States, when the latter were separated from the British Empire, became Governor of Jamaica, then Commander-in-Chief of India, and finally settled in England as Governor of the Castle of St. Maure. He died in 1848 at the age of ninety. His daughter, the future mother of the Dean, while her parents were in India, was left under the care of her aunt Lady Buckingham, at Stowe, which was only thirteen miles from Swanbourne; and through the neighbourhood of the two families

arose that connexion which led to the Dean's father becoming member for Buckingham in 1826, after going from Eton to Oriel College, Oxford, as a "gentleman commoner." After twenty years in Parliament he retired owing to his adopting a different view from that of the Duke of Buckingham on the abolition of the Corn Laws, and was made chairman of the Board of Customs, holding that post till 1874, when he retired and died in 1890 at the age of ninety-two.

The Dean has recorded with pious affection his memory of the religion of his parents.

"My mother," he writes, "was a truly Christian woman, with a serious but open mind, to whose constant care and impartial affection all of us owe a debt which can never be repaid."

Of her husband he wrote:

"My father was a man of firm and consistent character which fitted him well both for public life and for the ruling of a family of eleven children, all of whom grew up to man's estate. He was not a man whose religion lay on the surface, but its reality was shown by a simple incidental state-

ment made by him on his retiring after fifty years' service from the bench of magistrates of his county when a portrait of him was presented to be placed in the magistrates' room at Aylesbury. On that occasion he stated in his farewell speech: 'I can call God to witness that I never got upon that bench to try prisoners without a secret prayer that I might be enabled to do justice.'"

Besides the influence of such a father and mother, he also recalled that of his uncle the Rev. W. R. Fremantle, Rector of Claydon, six miles from Swanbourne, for thirty-seven years, who was a close and intimate friend of the family and of strong evangelical views and character, as well as being fond of children and games and riding. After his long term as rector there he became one of his nephew's predecessors in the Deanery of Ripon.

The Dean's first school was at Cheam, where he was placed under a Dr. Mayo, a disciple of the Swiss education pioneer Pestalozzi. The school differed from the modern private school in that boys were received there from their earliest years until they were old enough to go to the

University, and it was permeated with a strict evangelical system of religious doctrine. They rose at 6.30 and spent nine hours of the day in school, but had a ten minutes' interval between each hour. They were not allowed to play or talk when they had gone to bed, but the Dean records that this rule was not kept as strictly as it might have been and was made to depend upon an inquiry put to each boy the following morning: "Did you speak or play in your room last night?" which he says was "a mere incentive to lying."

Another peculiarity was that the boys had little gardens, "which," he says, "afforded us much interest in the spring and required each year making up." They had also a good cricket field and fives court. They were also given lessons "in various sciences, such as astronomy, zoology and botany," by the mathematical master, a Mr. Reiner, afterwards tutor to Edward VII in his boyhood. He was a native of Germany, which country he had left because of his Liberal politics; and of him the Dean writes:

"He was without exception the best teacher I have known, both for his knowledge and his

method and his discipline. He never set a punishment and was rarely disobeyed. A nation ruled as he ruled us would have few rebellious subjects."

Commenting on these recollections, the final note is:

"There was, however, a closeness about the system not suited to boys as they grew up. I myself, though leaving at twelve years old, felt glad to find myself in the more liberal atmosphere of Eton."

Yet he also appends to this opinion his sense of the high character and sincerity of Dr. Mayo's religious teaching, and mentions the subject of two of his short sermons at the school prayers, one on the death of Dr. Arnold and the other on the occasion of the running away of a Hindu whom the headmaster had befriended, but who proved unworthy of the kindness bestowed upon him. The impression of the second sermon remained deeply impressed on young Fremantle's mind, for he records, as it were, the very words:

"We are all vexed at having been deceived;

but let us not allow ourselves to repress our kindly feelings; and if such a misfortune should occur to any of you hereafter, let the Christian feelings of trustfulness and forgiveness prevail over suspiciousness all through your lives."

His elder brother, afterwards Lord Cottesloe, had gone to Eton two years before him, and he acknowledges what an advantage this was to him, especially his being allowed to be in the same room, and in the house afterwards known to fame as Evans's, of which the history was written by Major Gambier Parry, who, however, made the curious mistake of stating that the elder Fremantle went to Cambridge and became a distinguished bowler, whereas he went to Oxford, and never became distinguished there in cricket at all, in spite of having played in the school eleven at Eton.

The Dean's notes on this time are full of the gratitude and esteem he felt for Mr. Evans, who was drawing master in the school, and to whom, with his friend Selwyn and Mr. Coleridge, he attributes various improvements, especially "the establishment of the swimming school,

which abolished the absurd idea that the river was out of bounds and made it accessible and safe for boys who could swim. His ideas of what an Eton house should be did much for the school generally, and ought to find a high place beside those of his now celebrated daughter and successor, whose life is well known. His care for the welfare of his boys is well known to me, as he took me constantly into his confidence when I became captain of the house. He cared for all their interests in school and games. When his son won the school pulling race, he ran as a looker-on up to the rushes and back to cheer him on, and was thus reported on by one of the boatmen on the Brows, to an inquirer how the race was going, in the words: 'Ivins is ahead and the old 'un a-bellowing like sin on the bank.'"

Another recollection of this time is thus described:

"We had a party of friends in the house, of which Chitty and Blore and my brother were the chiefs, who spent the summer evenings after lock up in choral singing. This being reported to Mr. Evans by the master who looked after the dis-

cipline of 'My Dame's'—dear old Jacky Durnford, who professed to be scandalized by the Boatman's Song of the Negro Minstrels, which he called 'a ribald song, ending with "Go home with the gals in the morning"'—Mr. Evans asked us to let him hear a performance of our melodies, which he found to be quite innocuous, and gave us the use of an arbour in the garden.

"His care for the boys went beyond these trifles. He called us together to join in his family prayers, which he read himself; and, his voice having failed as a consequence of a fall during an artists' excursion in Yorkshire, he asked me to read the prayers during the rest of my time. How far this arrangement prevailed in later years I do not know. I am glad to have this opportunity of expressing some of his merits, which have been overshadowed by the great and deserved success of his daughter Jane Evans, who succeeded him, and who was most kind to me whenever I visited Eton, and also to my sons, though they were in college. I only wish I could take to myself half the kind words which he wrote to my father when I left Eton.

## "Sent Up for Good"

"The Eton boys were divided into the wet-bobs, who went upon the river, and the drybobs, who cultivated cricket. I belonged at first to the former class, but was not happy or successful in it, and after my first two years joined the drybobs, who were the more studious set, and began, as head of Mr. Pickering's division, to read for myself and to get 'sent up for good.'

"It may not be out of place if I dwell for a moment on the practice of 'sending up for good,' as it was called. If a boy had done particularly well in school, towards the end of the half the master of his form made him write out one of the best of his exercises, usually a copy of Latin or Greek verses, and gave him a paper on which his name was written, with the words 'for good' added. This was to be countersigned by his tutor, after which he wrote out his exercise and took it to the headmaster. The number of times on which a boy had been 'sent up,' when it amounted to three or more, was registered against his name in the terminal school list. Some boys were very successful in this. I think my brother, who was a fine scholar and versifier, must have been sent up some thirty times. Coley Patteson (the future

Bishop of Melanesia) went up to forty, I think.

"But my case was a misfortune. It was my first half, and I was overjoyed at being thus distinguished. I took my paper to my tutor, who duly signed it, and the next morning, when we had a 'saying' lesson, I saw my exercise ready to be written out for the Head. But, alas! I had not sufficiently conned the saying lesson, which consisted of some difficult Latin rules of Wordsworth's Greek Grammar, and the master said that he must withdraw from me the honour of being 'sent up.' I think this was excessive and unjust. I never heard of another such case. With me it had the effect of disgusting me with all the school work. It was more than two years before I was 'sent up' again; and I confess that after seventy-six years I still recur to this incident with pain.

"My later course at Eton was more prosperous. I was a good football player, and one of the first choices in the field game. My Dame's House became champions of college after a very hard struggle. In cricket I was not so successful, my muscular strength having failed, so that I was

in the melancholy position of first choice out of the eleven. The school was declining in numbers, so that, having had 777 members when I went there, it had only about 620 when I left. 'Evans's' felt the decline, but the places of those who left were soon filled up. I was in the 'Eton Society,' a social and debating club of which I became chairman, and I had many excellent friends, among whom I may mention Welby, the distinguished Civil Servant who became a peer, and whose death occurred in the present year [1916], Thomson, who became Sir Robert White-Thomson, and a leading man in Devonshire and Porchester, afterwards Lord Carnarvon, the statesman, who was next me in school, and with whom I was allowed, by the kind trustfulness of Mr. Evans, to spend the winter evenings when the school was under 'lock up.' We used to go together on the river in punts, and attained such proficiency as to go up to Monkey Island and return in a single play-time of two and a half hours. I must add Arthur Coleridge, who went off to King's in my last year.

"Dr. Hawtrey was our headmaster, only

giving up the post and becoming provost just after I left.

"I have not attempted, as I find others have in the successive books about Eton, any characterization of the masters. Balston was my tutor, a very fine scholar, and a lovable but somewhat weak man, who became headmaster and Fellow later on; but I did not come under the influence of any teacher of special eminence. I worked mostly alone, or with friends such as those I have mentioned, and my elder brother. I gained the Newcastle Medal in 1849, more, I think, by good fortune than by scholarship. The duke who founded the scholarship laid down that one out of the four days of the examination should be in divinity, and I had worked at this subject. My tutor made a speciality of it, and, amongst other things, made us write essays on biblical subjects, giving a prize for them, which I had obtained.

"Most of the best scholars had left Eton; only one of those selected as last in the previous year remained, and he was marked out to be the scholar of our year. There was one, however, who was an excellent classic, Robert Herbert, later on

Sir R. Herbert, the head of the Colonial Office, who was a much better scholar than myself, but was weak in divinity. The examiners (Lonsdale, Fellow of Balliol, and Shilleto, the well-known Cambridge ' coach ') were in a difficulty, and went over our papers five times before they determined, to my great surprise, to give the medal (the second place) to me. But Herbert had his revenge in the autumn, when we both stood for the Balliol Scholarship at Oxford, and he was elected; also in the next year in the newly established School of Moderations, he stood in the first class, and I, through a foolish mistake, in the second; but I consoled myself by the fact that the same fall overtook three of the best men of our year—Lord Lothian, whose premature death deprived the country of a rising statesman; Lewis Campbell, afterwards Greek Professor at St. Andrews; and Arthur Butler, who got the Ireland Scholarship the next year; while at the end of our undergraduate career these four, with myself, were placed in the first class, and Herbert, though obtaining the Ireland, in the second; and I obtained the University prize for an English essay. Herbert and I were, in 1854, with two

other Balliol men, elected together as Fellows of All Souls.

"The year in which I entered Eton was remarkable. In my first 'half' I witnessed the Eton Montem, the last time in which that curious and unmeaning celebration took place. It has been often described, and Mr. Evans's fine pictures of it are still, I believe, in the Provost's Lodge. It is to the great credit of Dr. Hawtrey that it was done away with, its foolish and useless expense having become vulgarized by the crowds brought down by the railway. Another incident of great importance was the beginning of the new buildings for the college. Those who do not know Eton well may be referred to the work of Arthur Coleridge, who was one of my chief friends, entitled 'Eton in the 'Forties,' which, among other things, describes the life of the collegers in the Long Chamber, which had become more and more unsuitable to modern needs, and makes one wonder how, out of such inadequate, not to say unworthy, conditions scholars and gentlemen can have emerged. The first stone of the new buildings was laid by the Prince Consort, and they form a worthy home for a select body of those

in training for the higher life of Englishmen.

"I was fond of long walks and had several friends who shared my taste. I felt now that I had also the evil of being too much confined to the routine of particular amusements. While I was a wetbob I organized expeditions of various kinds on the river. It was just possible on a half-holiday to go as far as Maidenhead between chapel ending at 3.30 and absence, or roll-call, at 6.15. It was possible to avoid this last by getting someone to stand in the crowd and say 'Here, sir' when one's name was called. But, though I confess to having done this, my father represented to me that it was tantamount to telling the headmaster a falsehood, and I desisted. But walking was always possible, and the beautiful neighbourhood of Windsor invited to such places as Datchet, the fine residence of the Harcourts, Stoke Poges with its memories of Gray, and many other places. I had an uncle living near Stowe, and my grand-uncle, Sir William Fremantle, lived at Holly Grove, as deputy ranger of the park, so that I was not confined to the haunts marked out by fashion. I was also fond of fives. When I

went to Eton there was only one court, that against the chapel, the model and mother of various courts in various realms. I rejoiced, therefore, when the new courts began to be built. They were only four at first, but have since grown to be innumerable to me, and they form the recognized amusement of the 'half' before Easter, which used to be a dull time, varied only by jumping expeditions, and seeming to court occasions for mischief.

"I fear I have lingered too long over Eton. My excuse must be that I am obeying a universal impulse of Eton men, who seem, even in old age, to recur with more pleasure to their old schools, and to none more than Eton.

"My course there came to an abrupt conclusion, for in the winter holidays of 1849 I became subject to some chest mischief which made a return to Eton impossible; and early in 1850 I was sent out to travel by myself."

The Dean regarded this early opportunity of travel and the illness which led to it as "an unmixed advantage." "It broke," he says, "the routine of an Eton and Oxford education so as to avoid the recurrence of the same subjects and persons all through school and college days.

It forced me to choose my course for myself, and it gave me the opportunity of seeing places which I had only read of before in my biblical and classical studies, also of discussing and determining many questions of importance which hardly touch a schoolboy."

He went first to Greece and then to Jerusalem, and from there to Damascus, and describes in his journals many impressions and details of travel in those parts of the East too familiar in their features to be repeated here without making a twice- or a thrice-told tale. It is worth noting, however, such an impression as he records after a visit to Damascus, the charms of which appealed to him as to many another traveller before him. "These pleasant views of a young traveller," he wrote, "must, however, be contrasted with the horrible scenes of massacre which occurred a few years later, in which the Christian population was more than decimated and a large part of the city destroyed. It is good for us, I think, that we do not see far into the future. Live while you live; rejoice while you can." And then he adds: "I may be pardoned for going back on sixty-six years and quoting from my journal which

I wrote in ecstasy, being then only eighteen years old."

In the course of his return journey he mentions the interesting fact that while paying a visit with his friends to Boudrun, the ancient Halicarnassus where "there is a vast Greek theatre cut into the rock and in a very good state of preservation, he stood on the stage, and some of his companions went to the highest rank of the theatre opposite and said they could hear every word of his declamation of the beginning of the Hecuba."

He also makes the following allusion to Turkish misrule—not without, for us, an added bitterness when we remember the further cruelties that have followed upon those to which he refers, of more than seventy years ago.

"Our next stay was at the ancient Miletus (now Scala Nova), whence we rode to see the site and remains of Ephesus. That ride gave me an idea of Turkish rule which I have never forgotten. It was along a fine and fruitful valley, all the excellence of which had been destroyed by Turkish misrule. Wherever it had been cultivated and the cultivators had been left to themselves the

produce of water-melons and other fruits was luxuriant. But all the rest had been ruined. Villages, whether of Christians or Moslems, stood with their churches in decay, and the population was dwindling. This is the result of the misgovernment which assigns to a Pacha a certain territory and exacts a certain yearly payment but leaves the governor free to exact it from the inhabitants by his own methods and to plunder the people as he pleases. How can any country flourish under such a system? And if we add that the splendid property of Asia Minor is the scene of the pillage of the Kurds and now of the Armenian massacres, who can refrain from uttering a prayer that this great inheritance may pass into the hands of a nation who will rule justly and hate oppression?"

He visited some of the most historic cities of Greece on his way home, and thence, after very brief visits to Corfu and Venice, arrived in England to be ready to begin his career at Oxford.

The following is his summing up of what this journey did for him:

"I have described this journey, perhaps at

inordinate length, partly because it went for much in the formation of my character, and partly because it gave me a wider outlook into life than it would have been possible to attain in the ordinary course of education. I had to decide my own course as few lads of my age have to do. I was called upon to behave as a young candidate for the Christian ministry, it being known in the *Frolic** that I hoped to be a clergyman. I saw something of the East as well as of the world generally, and having read Macaulay, which had just come out before I left England, and parts of Gibbon, of which the captain of the *Frolic* had a copy, I had a freer range than most lads of my age in the formation of opinion on society, politics and religion. I say this not boastfully, for my chief feeling in the retrospect is one of humiliation at the loss of many opportunities."

* The name of the boat on which he sailed in the Levant.

## CHAPTER II

### 1849–1853

### OXFORD

WHEN Fremantle went up to Balliol he soon began to make friends both among the tutors of the college and among his fellow undergraduates; and these friendships meant a great deal in his life and were in several instances continued to the end of his days. There is a striking passage in Izaak Walton's "Life of Richard Hooker" in which he points out that one characteristic of friendships formed in youth and at an University is that they are commonly "free from self-ends."

And in following the records and correspondence connected with this period this characteristic of Fremantle's friendships comes out very distinctly. There is an atmosphere of constant regard for the large interests of literature, religion and public life. The Dean himself, making his retrospect in later years, wrote:

"We may claim, I think, to have been a serious set of young men who felt that it was a privilege to belong to the University and who desired to make a good use of it."

When he went into residence he had the good fortune to have as his tutor Benjamin Jowett, already becoming a potent force in the college, and among the other tutors he found a good friend in Edwin Palmer also, who had heard of him when travelling at Alexandria, and on whose friendship he set great store. Of other senior members of the college who were kind to him he mentions Woollcombe and Lake also.

Of his contemporaries he names among his first friends George Brodrick (afterwards Warden of Merton), Arthur Watson (for forty years an assistant-master at Harrow) and Godfrey Lushington (afterwards Under-Secretary of State at the War Office); the two latter being also elected with him as Fellows of All Souls after they took their degrees.

Speaking of the general position in the University when he went up he thus describes it:

## Jowett and Stanley

"It was a moment of importance, not from any great movement but rather from a calm after a storm, which left young men free to choose their own path. The Oxford Movement had run its first race of turbulence, which was closed by the secession to Rome of its chief leader. A new school of thought was springing up of which Jowett and Stanley, tutors of Balliol and of University, were the most prominent, and which had for its flower men like Clough and Matthew Arnold, with Mark Pattison as a critic, who had shot his theological bolt. There was no great thinker such as Frederick Maurice, and no liberal-orthodox men such as were rising at Cambridge in Westcott, Hort and Llewelyn Davies, and no great preachers. The Evangelical school held on its calm ways, but its representatives made no great mark."

Fremantle joined the Union, but he notes that he only spoke there a few times, of which he mentions two, the first being in support of a motion for the full admission of Nonconformists to all the advantages of the University, and the other in support of Mr. Gladstone as a fit and

proper candidate to represent the University in Parliament, on which occasion he showed courage and initiative in speaking for half an hour on purpose to make it possible by the rules of the house to carry a second motion for the adjournment of the debate, a first motion having been lost and there being a rule against a second motion before a period of half an hour had elapsed.

Mr. Goschen, lately come up from Rugby, and who became President of the Union, offered him the position of Secretary, which he felt obliged to decline on the plea that his time was too much taken up with other things.

Fremantle had from boyhood grown up with a strong vein of piety imparted to him at home by his parents, and then strengthened in his first school at Cheam, and when he left Eton he had already determined on seeking ordination and had kept to it and avowed it while on his travels. This prepares us perhaps for finding that in Balliol, with the breeze of liberalism beginning to blow freshly around him, he still kept up his early piety and associated with a set of like-minded friends in whose lives religion continued to take a practical form, which he thus records:

## Impressions of Jowett

"I was happy in having many serious friends, some of whom were religious in the best sense. We taught in the Sunday schools, we tried to be regular at the stated services; in the summer term we were regular attendants at a special Sunday communion conducted by Dr. Pusey in St. Mary's. We had small meetings for prayer and the reading of the Bible, the first of which numbered among its members Waldegrave, who as Lord Radstock became a well-known lay evangelist, and Fox, the eminent physician of Bristol and successor of one whom Jowett used to speak of as 'the beloved physician.'"

This mention of Jowett's name makes us desirous to learn what were Fremantle's first impressions of his tutor, with whom he was to be afterwards more officially connected when invited to be himself a tutor of the college under him.

The impression one gets from Fremantle's notes and other records of the time is that in spite of genuine respect and admiration on both sides the two men were so different in temperament that they never became really intimate or markedly congenial. Fremantle's nature was less

many-sided than Jowett's, and there was none of that irony and whimsical humour which were so constant an element of Jowett's conversation.

This divergence of temperament makes the following testimony all the more significant of Jowett's power and influence in the college.

"Jowett was looked upon with growing admiration. The lectures on the early Greek philosophers and on Plato broke new ground; those on the epistles of St. Paul were somewhat puzzling to us, as, on their publication afterwards, they proved to be to more learned classes of men. But no one could fail to be impressed by his enthusiasm and his immense diligence. There being a short hour in the morning between chapel and lecture time, he invited volunteers to a class in his rooms at which we made attempts to translate English writings at sight into Latin; and if any of us were rather backward he would say: 'You may come to me any evening between eight and twelve with some Latin or Greek composition.' Those who availed themselves of this permission would find him at his desk composing

some portion of the essays or commentaries which afterwards became so famous, and he did not hesitate to leave his work for the newcomer, however little calculated he might be to add to the tutor's reputation.

"I have given an estimate of Jowett's religious teaching in a little-known periodical in which I attempted to show both its merits and its deficiencies. The custom which existed of each tutor, on the evening preceding the terminal celebration of the communion, calling his pupils into his room and giving them a short exhortation to a Christian life, was employed by Jowett as an opportunity for simple teaching on such subjects as prayer and the reading of the Bible; but there were no college chapel sermons. An institution called catechetics existed, but it was of an old-fashioned type, and Jowett thought it unsuitable, though I remember some striking lectures being given by Lake in a course of catechetics on St. Augustine's 'Confessions.' Jowett was preacher before the University on one occasion while I was an undergraduate, when he spoke on a subject to which special attention was given at that period

in the scientific journals, on the words 'Even the hairs of your head are all numbered,' but it received little attention, and it was not till many years later that he was known as a preacher. But his influence, through his truly Christian character, his indomitable work as tutor and his care for each and all of us, won upon everyone and has produced a large crop of scholars and statesmen. I noticed in a recent grand debate in the House of Lords out of six distinguished men who spoke five had been under Jowett at Balliol."

Other friends of this period were Goldwin-Smith, who, on Mr. Gladstone's defeat, became so disgusted with Oxford that he migrated to Canada in search of a purer democratic atmosphere, and Conington, the well-known translator of Virgil and Horace, whose premature illness and death were a great grief to all his circle. Outside Balliol Fremantle had also a large number of friends, among them not a few belonging to families known in public life, whom he used to meet again when he became resident in London.

He mentions that it was during his under-

graduate days that an evangelical society called "The Oxford Union for Prayer" was formed, and that he was among its first members and remained one for long afterwards; but he felt in later years that "it had narrowed its scope too much in the interests of evangelical piety, not taking in all the wide purposes for which the University exists."

Referring to the then declining cause of the party that had been led by Newman, he notes that:

"The Broad Church Movement was then in its infancy. But it was to be noticed that whereas the Tractarian leaders invited young men to a system of ordinances, 'Broad Church' was merely a tendency which it was difficult to define, and which, while honouring the existing system of ordinances, was largely occupied in criticism which at times was justly called negative."

He recalled the transient phase of attention given in Oxford in those days to the newly imported philosophy of Positivism, of which Richard Congreve of Wadham was the most prominent

herald. Fremantle made his acquaintance through Conington, but felt no attraction for the new doctrine, though he saw what was good in Congreve himself.

So much has been written by others about Jowett, and the full and detailed life of him by his friends Evelyn Abbott and Lewis Campbell has left his image so clearly recorded, that the traits and incidents mentioned by Fremantle are but gleanings in a well-reaped field. Yet he was a man so well beloved, and concerning whom such interest and even curiosity is still felt, that it may be well to add what Fremantle thought it worth while to record at the different periods when they were associated. From this point of view, therefore, the following note is given, taking up the record of his impressions at a little later date than the previous observation of him, made when Fremantle had but just come up.

"I believe him to have been a truly Christian man; but he was brought up in the most rigorous circle of those who are called Evangelicals. He never appears to have adopted the views of Newman, though I have heard Bishop Temple, who

was his friend, say that at one time Jowett suggested that he and his companions at college should accept Newman's position. But this must have been a quite immature and transient phase.

"When I came to know him there was nothing to mark him as distinctive, except his intellectual power and his devotion to his work. He was extremely reticent about serious matters, partly because of an extreme regard for the feelings and convictions of others; partly, as he said himself, from a shyness, which had, however, nothing of timidity in it; but most of all from a feeling which, I think, led him to an extreme, of the danger to true religion of formulas and ordinances. I remember, after a conversation, to which he had invited me as an undergraduate, as to the amount of genuine religion in the college, that, on my asking him whether he thought the attendance at chapel and communion was any index of this, he cut me short by saying, 'We have had too much of such subjects in Oxford.' The fact is that he wished to show how much more important is the religion of the life than that of ordinances. He was, however, in those early days ever sensitively alive to the proprieties.

"I remember on a certain Saint's day in which he had been called upon unexpectedly to read the Epistle his saying to me in a walk in the afternoon: 'Did you see what happened to me in chapel this morning? I read the Epistle in a black tie'—which I certainly had not noticed. It was after the publication of his theological works, and the violent attacks on him which ensued, that he withdrew into comparative seclusion. But I think the college suffered in public estimation, and was looked upon as a doubtful place for men preparing for ordination. He told me himself that it had lost the public schools, and it was computed by one of his best coadjutors that it had come more and more to lean upon a few able men who were attracted by its endowments. I shall have much more to say on this point farther on. In those early days I did not think that either I myself or my companions were influenced by Jowett otherwise than by the just admiration which young men naturally imbibe to those who care for them.

"Two other influences which had their effect in Oxford at that time were the great enlargement of the curriculum and the setting up of the school of theology. Till that time a man could not take

his degree except through the study of the classics and ancient history, with the addition of a minimum of divinity, or else through mathematics. Now the school of history was added, and immediately became a power in the University. A school of law was incorporated with it, which later on became independent, and a school of natural science, which was supported by the building of the great museum, mainly by the exertions of Dr. Acland, who was a friend both of Jowett and of Pusey. This vast extension of the range of studies, with the staff of teachers required, was hailed by the more liberal party both in Oxford and in the country, the students taking their part in the discussion which it engendered. Of the divinity school I must speak farther on. Jowett opposed its formation, chiefly, I think, because he considered that the teaching would fall into the hands of the narrower ecclesiastics. I mention these things to show the various influences by which I was surrounded, though this influence was not clear or marked at the time."

It is possible that some readers who did not know Fremantle may suppose from the tone of

his memoranda here recorded, and from his conscious value of "seriousness," that in the more genial and lighter side of life he showed less interest. But that would be a great mistake, as the next episode recalled by him will prove. It shows him in the two-fold character of being both a lover of athletics and a good man of business.

"But I must touch on a very different matter which occupied my attention at this time. There was a complete absence of athletic games except rowing and, in the summer, cricket. There were two tennis courts of the old kind which were too expensive for any but a small number of men, one out-of-the-way fives court, one football game for the Winchester men, but no racquet court; and lawn tennis did not exist. If a man did not ride or play the expensive tennis his only resource was in a daily walk. For myself I enjoyed a walk with a friend exceedingly; but I felt that other pastimes were needed. I began by getting the owner of the great tennis court to build two courts for the Eton men adjoining his property in Merton Street, and these were largely taken up, though they subsequently failed as interference with the tennis.

But I set to work with the assistance of Charles Mayo (son of my old schoolmaster at Cheam) to organize a company to build racquet and fives courts. I was happy in having friends who were able to invest in this scheme. My father lent me £250; Mayo had a large holding; Charles Roundell, well known as a cricketer, Waldegrave (afterwards Radstock) supplied £1,000 each; and other contributors were Edwin Palmer, Conington and Congreve. We made up a capital of £5,000, and took a lease of land from St. John's College between the Parks and St. Giles's.

"I worked at this scheme all my last year as an undergraduate, and stayed in Oxford all the last long vacation to see it through. Its success was immediate and lucrative for a 'company promoter' of twenty years old. Play went on in the summer from 8 A.M. to 8 P.M. and in the other terms in proportion. We paid 5 per cent. from the first, and after some years repaid ourselves the whole amount of our original investments, and then continued in our prosperous career till a more pretentious scheme was started in Holywell which bought up our courts at their original value. But here was the end of racquet playing. The

proctors interfered and forbad the game till afternoon. After a few years the great outdoor games of tennis and football, which were cheap and in the open air, supplied the need which we had supplied for a time; the new and ambitious scheme at Holywell, after attempting to become a home for a skating-rink, had to be sold, and Oxford is the only place of the higher education in England which is without a racquet court."

For the last ten months before his final schools he read hard and spent most of the time in Oxford in company with George Brodrick, Lewis Campbell and Congreve, who helped him in working up the philosophical books. In the previous year (1852) he had only succeeded in getting a second in Moderations—then a new examination held for the first time; but while reading for it he was in the company of three of the ablest men of his year, Lord Lothian, Campbell and Butler, who soon afterwards gained the Ireland Scholarship.

He mentions with gratitude how, during the last strenuous months of work before the Final School, his father lent him a horse and, when it

was needed at home, "paid a riding bill for me," so that he and Brodrick were able to take regular exercise, which led to great improvement of his health and knowledge of the country round Oxford.

Among his latest friends in Oxford he mentions Henry Wright, who was introduced to him by Emilius Bayley. Mr. Bayley was curate to Fremantle's uncle at Claydon, and had stayed at Wright's home, Osmaston Manor, in Derbyshire, and on his last visit had been requested by Wright's father to recommend him to some rightly disposed undergraduate on his going up to matriculate. Of the friendship thus begun Fremantle records:

"I looked upon such introductions as somewhat formal things, and begged Mr. Wright not to lay too much stress upon this one, but it was the beginning of a true Christian friendship which lasted till the sad death of my dear friend who was accidentally drowned in Coniston Lake. I went to Osmaston several times, and a good deal of intercourse between our families ensued."

It was he who had the pleasure of giving him

the first news of his success in the schools, which is thus related: "Brodrick and I were sitting together in mingled fear and hope when my dear friend Henry Wright burst into the room saying, 'You are both in the first class.' The names of those with classes were at that time read out by one of the examiners at the entrance of the examination room, and our friend had waited to hear the result." It was all the more happy for him because, besides George Brodrick, his three other friends mentioned above, Lothian, Campbell and Butler, also had the same good fortune to be "firsts."

Besides this honourable close of his work as undergraduate he also won the University prize for an English essay on the subject "The Influence of Commerce on Christianity," which he wrote while paying a three months' visit to Sir Emilius Bayley, then in charge of the Parish of Woburn, and through whom he had access to the Duke of Bedford's library and also an introduction to the Duke's brother Lord Charles Russell, Serjeant-at-arms to the House of Commons, who lived at Woburn.

He kept the summer term of 1853 at Oxford

to qualify for his M.A. degree, and at the end of it went with a reading party (himself now acting as head of it) to Aberfeldy in Perthshire, and having as his three companions Waldegrave, Henry Wright and Wright's friend James Bury, afterwards Rector of Little Hadham and Canon of Peterborough. He dwells especially on the happiness of this reading party with the visit to the sports at Blair-Atholl, a forty-mile walk homewards through Killiecrankie, and carefully records the interesting fact (when we remember his later sympathies) how on Sunday they "attended the Free Church under the excellent ministry of Mr. Clark, who admitted us as full members of the Church of England to the full communion which the whole village attended, and to the preparatory meetings—a new experience for all of us."

On his return south he found a letter from Jowett suggesting that he should stand for a Fellowship at All Souls, where there were to be no fewer than four elections. He took the advice and had the pleasure of finding himself elected with three other of his friends from Balliol, God-

frey Lushington, Slade, and his old rival Herbert, of whom he says:

"He stayed on at Eton till I had left, and got the Newcastle Scholarship, in which, had I competed, I fear I should have had no chance against his superior scholarship. But we remained friends to the end, as I think those who have been rivals at school and college usually do."

He spent the following winter in Rome where he arrived on the day when the Pope was to give his final sanction to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the B.V.M. and to give it out *ex cathedra* in St. Peter's, a ceremony which he attended and described, and relates that he met many educated people, including the correspondent of the *Times*, who were ignorant of the meaning of the ceremony, and thought it referred to the conception of the Divine Son and not that of the Mother, and he adds:

"Some years afterwards a Roman priest whom I met and who knew M. Thiers intimately told me that the statesman in conversation on the subject showed the same ignorance, and when the priest

told him the truth, replied : ' Vous voulez me dire qu'il n'y avait pas un homme dans cette histoire. Alors pourquoi faire tout ce tapage pour une telle bêtise ? ' "

Fremantle was not attracted by the many functions in the churches of the city nor by what he characterizes as " the gaudy curtains and the heaps of gold and gems and lapis lazuli on the altars," and relates that he " was glad after a few days to get upon the Capitol and look out upon the Campagna with its many associations and the works of the old Romans, the tombs and the aqueducts and the bounding Saline Hills and Soracte covered with snow."

He concludes his note on this Italian visit thus :

" I spent two months in Rome, having lodgings in the Vià Condotti, having friends to join me in every day's excursions, and Signor Bonfigli as my Italian master, under whom I think I must have made good progress, as he gave me this certificate : ' Among all my pupils in this year you take the first place.' He had to be somewhat ' suspect ' because of his Liberal views, in

which I entirely agreed. The streets were full of priests and French soldiers—Garibaldi had not yet made his appearance, and the Romans themselves bore a sullen look, as of a people held down by a foreign power. My aunt, Lady Fitzgerald, lived in the Hôtel de Russie, she, like all the ladies of my father's family, being Roman Catholic. Her daughter was married to a Roman, Marquise Sulupi, son of the Pope's master of the horse, and through her I saw a little of the Neri, the Pope's section of the people. I saw also from time to time some of the men in high positions, including the English Cardinal Wiseman. But I avoided all controversy, though I was tempted to controvert him when he spoke of an excellent well at Oxford.

"There were many English people in Rome that winter, among them two young fellows of Trinity, Cambridge (whose acquaintance I made at the house of the English clergyman), Mr. Lightfoot, afterwards so distinguished as a theologian and Bishop of Durham, and Mr. Benson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Lord (then Mr.) Lyons was the representative of England

at the Papal Court (nominally attaché to the English minister in Sardinia), and I met him in a visit to some of the antiquities with William Palmer, the elder brother of my friend Edwin. Mr. Palmer had travelled all round Christendom to study phases of religion, intending to join the best. But he was so severe upon Protestant, Greek and various other denominations that he gained the appellation of the 'cursing deacon'; but during his stay in Rome this winter he succumbed to the machinations of his friends in the most childish manner, and became a Roman Catholic.

"Several of my school friends were in Rome for the winter. Arthur Watson was there for the Harrow vacation, having been elected Fellow of All Souls in November, and another who was a great comfort was Macan, whom I had known less."

Before reaching home he received from Lord Granville, through his father, the offer of an inspectorship of church schools, the pecuniary side of which he considered "most advantageous," but he declined it, "being anxious to engage in the parochial ministry at once."

# CHAPTER III

## 1854–1861

### ORDINATION—CURACY AT CLAYDON—VICAR OF LEWKNOR—CHAPLAIN TO ARCHBISHOP TAIT

HIS uncle, the Rector of Claydon, in Buckinghamshire, had invited him to become his curate, and after a short time spent in reading further at Oxford, Fremantle was ordained at Cuddesdon by the then Bishop of Oxford, Samuel Wilberforce, a good many of his friends and contemporaries being ordained at the same time.

He lived in his uncle's house, "surrounded with all the blessings that belong to an energetic ministry and to the perfection that home comforts can bring," and he remained there till after Easter, 1857, with only little breaks and visits to his family at Swanbourne and to Mr. Bayley at Woburn. He says:

"I had a room to myself and good opportunities of reading, which led to a great change in my outlook upon the world."

While he was thus engaged he heard from

Oxford that a prize was to be offered in the University for the best essay on the doctrine of the Atonement. The occasion of this was the publication by Jowett, in his book on St. Paul's Epistles, of an essay on the same subject, which led to a widespread controversy, by advocating a position now very generally accepted, but which then ran counter to the cruder forms of evangelical statement, wherein Jowett saw what he was convinced amounted to teaching views inconsistent with the justice of God.

Fremantle felt moved to take up his pen in vindication of the doctrine of his old tutor, and accordingly wrote an essay and was prepared to send it in. Jowett's view was about the same time propounded also in Scotland in a treatise by Macleod Campbell, which "put aside the notion of vicarious punishment and substituted for it that of union of the believer with our Saviour in giving himself to God."

"This," says Fremantle, "which had already been taught by Robertson of Brighton, has always seemed to me satisfactory, and I shall return to it when I speak of my own teaching, when I had a congregation of my own.

"I am convinced that to say that Christ was punished instead of us is an unscriptural perversion of the teaching of the New Testament, whereas, however expressed, union with Christ our Saviour is moral and true; and until this change takes place in the popular teaching, we lay open Christian teaching to all the assaults that have been levelled against it."

It is indeed a very interesting thing to read the following aspiration of Fremantle: "Some Luther or Wycliff must arise to show that our God cannot punish the innocent instead of the guilty, or because of such a supposed punishment clear the guilty, though through repentance and faith the work of our Saviour can restore us all," and then to see his forecast most remarkably justified in 1920 by the publication from the pen of his fellow Dean of Carlisle of a volume called "The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology," by Hastings Rashdall. For this book has at once taken its place as making good the ground occupied by Jowett, which Fremantle himself so intensely desired to defend.

His essay was never sent in, for the reasons given in the following note, which briefly men-

tions the keen disappointment it must have been to him thus to keep silence:

"I wrote an essay grounded on this view, but did not send it in. My uncle, who saw it, greatly disapproved, and I said that whatever my disappointment might be, I felt that the good I had gained by thought and prayer on these great subjects was of far greater worth; and now, after sixty years, I believe that I was right."

This divergence of view between the Rector of Claydon and himself evidently touched him very nearly, for with his father's sympathy and advice he very soon after left Claydon and for the rest of 1856 went to live in All Souls on purpose to continue his studies of theology, as he thus records:

"My father, who, though holding fast to the old 'evangelical' modes of Christian teaching, was alive to its wider aspects, recommended me at this time to spend a time in Oxford studying its wider issues. I followed his advice and lived at All Souls for the rest of the year. But I found that I was so constantly asked to help the

parochial clergy that in self-defence I took a kind of half-curacy under Mr. Lindon, the excellent pastor of St. Peter le Bailey; and I enjoyed my intercourse with him and his family for the remaining part of the year."

Arising from this period there came into his life two new influences to which, as he looked back in his last years, he saw the shaping of his future life was mainly due.

The one was a growing intercourse between himself and Arthur Stanley, who in that year was made Professor of Ecclesiastical History. Of this he writes:

"I knew him through Jowett, his friend and collaborator, and through his having been one of a party who travelled in the East in 1852-3, my eldest brother being also of that party. That expedition led to his writing the book 'Sinai and Palestine.' His first lectures were received with enthusiasm by the more liberal minds of the University, and he gave a series of a lighter kind for men wishing to be ordained, but he soon passed on to the larger subjects which form his 'History

of the Jewish Church.' I saw a good deal of Stanley and may have been influenced by him more than I knew; but what drew me to him was the combination of earnest piety with what is often called now the joy of living, and his interest in history and historical characters, whether or not they were exactly of his own type. I never turned away from the ways and manner of my earlier friends, but I have tried to look at all the moral life of the world as belonging to the development of the kingdom of Christ."

The other thing that now began to have a decisive influence in his life was his intimacy with the family of Sir Culling Eardley, founder of what was called "The Evangelical Alliance," which just then was about to hold a great gathering in Germany. Fremantle's father and mother had long been intimate with the Eardleys, and Sir Culling Eardley had been shown and approved of the unpublished essay, and thus invited him to go for the conferences to Germany. While there, living on terms of close intimacy with the family, there happened to him what never happened to Jowett, but what nevertheless had at one time

hovered before Jowett's mind, as is shown by a touching passage in one of his letters to Stanley published in his "Life." Fremantle, with his wonted simplicity, condenses it all into the following few lines written late in his life:

"I was admitted to close intimacy with them while in Berlin, my tastes and religious interests being the same as theirs. I became deeply attached to his younger daughter, and he, after a moving interview on his recovering from illness, elicited from me my feelings and hopes. It was found that circumstances did not allow of any definite plans being formed. But the foundations were laid for a long series of hopes, disappointments and desires which issued after nearly six years in a very happy marriage."

Readers of the life of Lord Tennyson will recognize here a parallel to similar circumstances in that great man's life, leading at last to a like happy consummation of hopes and conquest of difficulties.

It is a sign of the sturdy independence of Fremantle's mind that in spite of his close ties

with Sir C. Eardley, he himself never joined the Alliance, which to him seemed to have too narrow a basis of membership, and of which he gives the following curious account at this period:

"I have never belonged to the Alliance because of the narrowness of its conditions of membership; but this gathering was of a more general character and was felt in Germany as an emancipation from the old Church and State views of the old Lutherans as they had been expressed by the *Kreuz Zeitung*. The gathering had a strong political character. The old king, Frederick William IV, with his curious idealism which really disguised his extreme conservatism, had grown unpopular, and the people were turning to a more liberal régime under his brother, who became the first German Emperor, and his son Prince Frederick, who was at this moment betrothed to the Princess Victoria of England. Another mark of this more liberal tendency was the promotion of Bunsen to favour. He had been for many years Ambassador to England but had been recalled for seeming to dictate to the King of Prussia his duty of joining the Allies in what was

afterwards the Crimean War. He retired to Heidelberg, where he wrote his theological-political books, but was now restored to favour. I had the privilege of a full interview with him, in which he showed his great knowledge of English theology and esteem for its growing liberal tendencies. His life and that of Mme. de Bunsen have since been published."

Fremantle was now twenty-six, and when he returned to England in 1857 he was soon after offered by his College of All Souls the parish of Lewknor in Oxfordshire, which he decided to accept and of which he gives the following account:

"I returned to my life in Oxford, but within two months an offer was made to me by my college of a parish in their gift, and this eventful year found me established as Vicar of Lewknor in Oxfordshire. I was just twenty-six years old when I entered on the important work of the cure of souls.

"The parish lies at the foot of Beacon Hill, one of the Chilterns, and is sixteen miles from

Oxford, on a by-road branching off from the main road. Its history of late years had been this: It was held for forty years by an old gentleman about whose curious ways many stories were told; then, after a break, by Mr. W. Byron, a college friend of my own, who found the work too much for him. The chief spiritual movement, however, had taken place under Mr. Garnier, subsequently Chaplain to the House of Commons, and afterwards Dean, first of Ripon, then of Lincoln, who had gained his chief favour in the ministry from the evangelical movement which centred in Mr. Bulteel's work in Oxford. He came to Lewknor as a young Fellow of All Souls, recently married to a daughter of Lord Albemarle, and they set to work with a fervour which was remembered with gratitude by all the people, who, I found, when any good was done in the parish, would say, 'Oh! it was so in the time of Mr. Garnier.' There had been an interval, however, when the vicar, who was much incapacitated by illness, was under the full influence of the Oxford Movement, and eventually became a Roman Catholic.

"There was nothing special or distinctive about the village. The church was sadly in want

of repair. The manor house was let to a gentleman-farmer. Several of the other farms belonged to All Souls College, so that I was partly in the position of landlord. There was no large industry except farming and a considerable trade in watercresses, for managing which one of the proprietors resided in London. There were no resident gentry. The poor people were well disposed, although I heard that they had not a very good renown for poaching and there was a good deal of drunkenness, but this was kept under by the fact that the only public-house in the village was in good hands; of the hamlet two miles away this could not be said. There was a large number of resident gentry in the neighbourhood, very friendly and hospitable, beginning with Lord Macclesfield. I found many of the clergy very kind, and we had the ordinary arrangements of clerical meetings. I started a missionary society of a comprehensive kind; but the rural dean overthrew it by pointing out that the London Missionary Society was partly administered by Nonconformists. The following incident will show my manner of life. The village was wholly agricultural, and I wished during the quiet

time of harvest to see as many as possible of the people; but the school was closed, the mothers' meeting, etc., could not be held. I at last bethought me of an old bed-ridden man; I surely could see him. But no. I knocked at the door many times and it was locked. At last I heard a voice from the bedroom: 'They have all gone out to the harvest and have locked me in.' I promptly got into my little carriage and drove to Oxford, where my rooms were always ready.

"Fortunately, either in this or the corresponding period of the next year, Max Müller, the great linguist and philosopher—then unmarried—was staying in the college, and my friend and colleague Godfrey Lushington (afterwards Under-Secretary in the Home Office) was spending a short vacation reading in All Souls. And Max Müller was kind enough to be our teacher. We read the splendid work of Lessing, 'Die Erziehung des München Geschlecht,' which helped me greatly in dealing with two works which came out about this time, the 'Essays and Reviews' and 'Colenso upon the Pentateuch.'

"In the autumn of this year I was asked by a friend to take his young cousin as a pupil, and he

came to me for a year and a half. Mr. W. Hunt is now a well-known person, having taken a first class in history at Oxford and becoming well known as a writer, being made chairman of the Royal Historical Society. We began the study of Gibbon together and formed a fast friendship. He threw himself into the parish work, conducting a cricket club for the lads of the village and teaching in the Sunday school.

"I look back to the days of vicar's work at Lewknor with mixed feelings. The best people, who had embraced the Christian life in good earnest under Mr. Garnier, looked upon me as carrying on or reviving his work, and there were some lives turned distinctly to God. But how great is the sense of deficiency!

"The episode which most concerns the public was the attempt made by three of the Fellows of All Souls, of whom I was one, to obtain the election of Fellows by merit as shown by examination, not as hitherto by favour. The election used to be held in a manner suited to a club of gentlemen, not to a college of the University; and some few of the elections had been such as would rightly be called scandalous. The Commissioners under

the Oxford Reform Bill had given us an ordinance which bore the effect of law and which had been accepted by the college; but the old system was still maintained. The Fellows sat round the common room and the names were proposed one by one; but there was no assurance that the thirty or forty electors had examined the papers, and a report made by a small body of examiners gave little information; indeed it usually stated that all the candidates were worthy of becoming Fellows. Some of the ablest young men were put aside, and, although as in a club a clever and distinguished man would be welcome, this was not always the case; and it cannot be said that the election tended to the advancement of learning in the University. The appellants therefore, using a clause in the ordinance, appealed to the visitor. This was the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, as it was impossible for the young men to pay the expenses of a law-suit, a subscription was raised, to which men like Temple (afterwards Archbishop) and Lord Lansdowne (the highly esteemed Minister of State) willingly subscribed. It was felt in the University that this was not a matter which concerned All Souls College alone, but others

also, and the estimation of a Fellowship generally.

"The Archbishop, with the advice of his Vicar-General, gave a reply calculated to negative the petition; but the appellants sued for a mandamus in the Queen's Bench, and the Archbishop promised that they should have a proper hearing. This was conducted in Lambeth Palace by a distinguished court, the Archbishop having for his assessors Lord Wensleydale and Sir Travers Twiss, and the counsel being, for the appellants, Sir Richard Bethell (afterwards Chancellor as Lord Wensbury) and Mr. Coleridge (afterwards Lord Chief Justice), for the college, Sir William Bovill and Mr. (afterwards Lord) Cairns the Chancellor. The judgment delivered was still felt to be ambiguous, and the appellants made one more effort. The assessors to the Archbishop were Lord Coleridge (one of the commissioners who had made the ordinance) and Mr. Justice Coleridge, the early friend of Dr. Arnold. The cause of the college was pleaded by their own counsel, and that of the petitioners by Mr. Coleridge. The judgment was favourable to the petitioners and was loyally accepted by the college.

## In Hampden's Country

"I lived at Lewknor, at the foot of the Chiltern Hills, and did not fail to explore the neighbouring parts of the Icknield Way, the old British road, and the beautiful country on the other side of them to Henley and High Wycombe. It is the country of Hampden and his comrades; Lewknor is only four miles from Chalgrove Field, where he fell. And though I was sixteen miles from Oxford and twelve from the nearest station, with the hills between, I had a good little horse and a neat 'malvern cart.' I had friends coming to me from Oxford, John Conington, Harcourt, the lecturer in chemistry at Christ Church, and the members of All Souls, who came, attracted by the claims of property. My parents came to see me, but none of my sisters could be spared, and I had to be my own housekeeper, with the help for a time of my old nurse, and for a longer time that of an excellent head servant and a village girl. So I was not solitary. I did not see much of the neighbouring gentry, though they were kind and hospitable; but I wanted time for study, and declined most invitations, even the well-known Wathington Ball, the sole remnant of a time when all the county used to meet at Lewknor for cricket.

(The warden of All Souls said it was the only ball left of the club.)

"Meanwhile the schools which had been built by the Garniers had to have a new thatched roof, and we were glad to find that there was still one man in the village who could do the work. I got a room built for service at Portcombe, the hamlet two miles off; and it was an experience which I fancy is found in many places, that whereas the villagers close to the Parish Church were not the less regular in their attendance, those who lived in the scattered houses and farms at a distance (the parish extending for four miles over the hills) were much more regular, the church being to them, as it might be, a place of social as well as religious union. The cottagers, however, attended well in the afternoons, and it was a pleasing sight to see them in their smock frocks, filling the centre, while the farmer folks had their places in the aisles.

"I soon saw that it was imperative to have large repairs done to the church. In fact, while a fine mediæval chancel towered above the east end, the centre required to be rebuilt. I got a few large subscriptions from the college, from the

chief proprietor, Sir Edward Jodrell, who was himself a clergyman and lived at Seend, in Wilts, though his ancestors were buried in the side-chapel of the family at Lewknor. I then got the rate book of the parish and divided the remainder of the sum required rateably amongst the holders of property. The larger ratepayers, mostly farmers, fell in with this arrangement. It was a time when church rates existed, and when a loan for church building could be got from the public loan office; but nothing could be done except through the vestry, and two of the principal farms were changing hands, so that it was doubtful what the issue would be. It would mean, first and last, over the years during which the loan would have to be paid, about £50 from each of the farmers. We had a discussion and then adjourned for dinner, and on our meeting again every member voted for the rate. In fact, all the village was with me, and prominent among those who urged the doing of the work was the lady who presided over the only public-house in the village. The church had been inspected in my predecessor's time by Sir Gilbert Scott, and was now placed in the hands of Sir Arthur Blomfield. The building took

some two years, and in process of time, when the whole debt was paid off, I received a visit from one of the churchwardens in my London rectory to say that the whole business was completed.

"I had opportunities at the time of returning to the field of classics. My old tutor, Dr. Balston, then headmaster at Eton, asked me to examine for the Newcastle scholarship; and almost at the same time Dr. Butler asked me to examine at Harrow. My eldest brother had examined for the Newcastle, and I should have been glad to follow him; but he was a real scholar, and his success in the work was no guarantee for me. I could not have felt that I was on sure ground, and, another post being offered me, I felt it easier to decline. This was the post of examiner at Tunbridge, to which All Souls College was bound to appoint, and the lot fell on me for two years. The governors of the school were the Court of the Skinners' Company in London, who entertained their examiners nobly, and both they and the school afforded much interest. But the post was not easy, the rich scholarships being assigned by the statutes to the sons of persons living near Tun-

bridge itself, 'if they were fit for a University education,' an ambiguous term, since any boy who passes through a public school, even without distinction, may be said to be fit to aim at an ordinary degree; but, on the other hand, a man holding a valuable scholarship from his school cannot be said to be a fit member of the University unless his aims are higher than that of an average undergraduate. The examiner consequently risked the imputation of harshness. I remember a young man who was disappointed offering to call upon me at Lewknor, riding from Oxford, where he had managed to matriculate, intending to discuss the award which I had made. Of course I refused to see him."

For three and a half years Fremantle took all the clerical duty at Lewknor without assistance, and had great difficulty in getting any holiday. But in 1860 help was offered him, and in consequence of it he went for a tour to Switzerland with his friends Charles Roundell and Philip (afterwards General) Smith. George Brodrick was to have been a fourth in the party, but was prevented at the last moment by receiving the offer of an

appointment as one of the leader writers to the *Times*.

Early in the year following his holiday (i.e. in 1861) he received a letter from A. C. Tait, then Bishop of London, inviting him to become resident chaplain, and had been not wholly unprepared for such an offer, as the post had been previously held by one of his friends, Edward Parry, who had written to ask if he would be likely to consider it. He readily accepted the offer when it came, through a belief that his mind and sympathies were congenial with those of his predecessor, whom he describes as belonging "to the more liberal wing of the evangelical clergy." He notes that

"he had been much moved by the opposition of those with whom he had previously acted to the two most important books of the day, the 'Essays and Reviews,' and Bishop Colenso's work on 'The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua.'"

In the "Essays and Reviews" Fremantle valued especially the essays by Jowett on the Interpretation of Scripture, by Mark Pattison on

the Deistic Writers, but most of all the essay by the editor, Mr. Wilson, who, he says, "followed the steps of Dr. Arnold in the true and democratic presentment of the Church."

He resented the clamour raised against the volume, and conceived the project of defending it by a treatise on its main subjects, giving "a quieter and more impartial estimate of the matters then in controversy," which he thought of publishing under the pseudonym of "A Country Vicar."

His account of what followed can hardly be read without a smile, but it again shows the writer enduring a disappointment which must have tried his patience and perhaps discouraged him as a writer, if not as a thinker.

"I thought that the quieter and more impartial estimate of the matters now in controversy might be of use, and I wrote a treatise under the pseudonym of 'A Country Vicar.' Jowett was at this time living at Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight, writing an essay, and I asked leave to come and show him what I had written. He acquiesced, and we were joined by Lewis Campbell, who at that time held the living of Milton,

in Hampshire. The reading of my essay continued till late, and we heard a noise of gravel thrown up against the window. This proved to be Tennyson, who then lived close by, and, while having a horror of being 'lionized,' wished to show kindness to Jowett's friend. He sat down after some slight explanations, and Jowett made me continue my reading, a passage of which he thought would interest the poet; but after a while he was gone without further explanation. This was the only time that I ever saw him.

"I meant to have finished and published my essay, but the publisher, though a liberal man and having a request from Jowett, declined it on the ground that one of his partners thought it more negative in its tone than even the 'Essays and Reviews.' But I, having just received the Bishop of London's invitation, felt that if a storm should be raised in the then sensitive condition of theological opinion, it might place me and the bishop also in a difficult position, and I withdrew the essay, as I had done with my previous attempt while at Claydon, and I went to Fulham as chaplain."

## CHAPTER IV

### 1861–1882

### VICAR OF ST. MARY'S, BRYANSTON SQUARE

HIS new position, as he describes it in his notes, was important and also exceedingly pleasant, and his account of the bishop's life and work at this period is good to read.

"I lived in the Bishop's Palace at Fulham," he says, "and had the privilege through his kindness and that of Mrs. Tait of counting as one of the family and being constantly in their society. I had the chaplain's room next to that of the bishop, and we worked in complete confidence, sometimes till late in the night. It was a time of controversy, and the bishop had many opponents, but I can testify that the tone of the household and its leaders was that of sincere evangelical piety. It was only a few years since the terrible decimation of the family at Carlisle by the loss of five children had taken place, and the impression left by that

event could be traced in all the family life, while the surviving children and those later born gave the constant brightness which children's presence tends to give. But the bishop himself never failed in his brightness or his care for others. I felt that he had looked out into the other world and that the things of this life were always borne resignedly, while his whole energy was spent in his work as a bishop. The diocese at that time included the whole of London and Middlesex, reaching to Staines in the west, the Crystal Palace on the south, and the growing towns of Woolwich, of East and West Ham on the east, and there were no suffragans. Yet the bishop found time and energy for evangelistic work, special courses of sermons at Bethnal Green, and he even appeared in such places as omnibus yards. He founded the Diocesan Mission, of which I for a time was honorary secretary, going to such places as Deptford and Bethnal Green to judge of the candidates for missionary posts; and he founded, on the suggestion of Albert Maclagan (then secretary to the Church Building Society of the diocese) the Bishop of London's Fund which has supplied the wants of the immense and ever-growing diocese.

## A "Curates' Club"

"My part in all the bishop's work was partly that of his secretary, and no one could have made the work more pleasant than he, his real earnest interest in each part being varied by constant touches of pleasantry. By attending him at confirmations, at conferences and other diocesan occasions, I gained a knowledge of outlying places and of the clergy, for whom I was often asked to preach. The year 1862 was that fixed by custom for the visitation of the diocese, and I composed a complete list of the parishes and of the chief statistics of the work done in each which, being on a large roll, could be easily referred to and thus assisted the bishop in framing his charge.

"I became a member of the clerical society which adopted the name of the 'C.C.C.' having been formed as a curates' club by the younger men who had found other societies of the elder men insufficient and too 'donnish' for them. This society was very successful, having amongst its early members men like J. R. Green (afterwards so well known as an historian), Haweis (who took a well-known place among preachers) and Wace (now Dean of Canterbury). The society still exists and celebrated its fiftieth year not long ago,

when I was the chairman under the presidency of the dean. But the bishop's house itself was full of interest. Stanley and, later on, Lightfoot conducted the examination of candidates, I having held a preliminary inquiry and examination. The bishop had many inquiries and many interests, in which, so far as was possible to a provident and cautious man, he allowed me to share; and his large circle of relations brought in a constant supply of light and pleasant society."

In 1863 Fremantle was married to Miss Isabella Eardley after nearly six years of waiting, in which her family suffered the great grief of losing her mother Lady Eardley in 1859; and just when Fremantle's happiness promised to bring new brightness into his life Sir Culling Eardley himself was taken ill after being vaccinated as a precaution against an epidemic in his neighbourhood, and died after a short illness.

After the death of Mrs. Fremantle's father she and her husband took a house in Curzon Street where they lived until he gave up the work of his chaplaincy; but before that he found one important piece of work laid upon him by Bishop

Tait which will be best understood if narrated in his own words.

"The great event ecclesiastically, and I think morally, of these years was the judgment of the Privy Council Committee on the authors of the 'Essays and Reviews.' The Bishop of London was the only ecclesiastic who voted for those who were accused. He kept his own counsel, and I never had an opportunity of speaking to him on the subject. But I heard the judgment pronounced, and I am convinced that it was just. Also, on the two principal counts, namely, that which declared it lawful for a clergyman to criticize the books of the Bible and that which allowed him to express a hope for repentance after death, the convictions of Christian men both in England and throughout the world have steadily veered to an affirmation of the judgment. A contrary course would, I feel sure, have been disastrous.

"I am thankful that in all the chief judgments pronounced by the Privy Council liberty of thought has prevailed, though the contrary opinion has been held by the mass of the clergy, and attempts have been made to change the composition of the

tribunal itself by which the judgments were made. The bishop felt sure that the Privy Council Committee had throughout acted honestly, applying the principles of English law to the various cases which had come before them, and that they had never had any partisanship, still less any animosity, against the Church and its ministers. He therefore proposed that a collection should be made of these judgments, and asked me with my old friend George Brodrick to undertake the work. It was a difficult task and might have seemed presumptuous in one outside the legal profession. Indeed, it was necessary to encounter some degree of obloquy from the narrower views which were expressed by the mass of the clergy. But we had the help of many good and capable men, and especially of the well-known counsel Mr. A. J. Stephens. The reports were furnished by Mr. Moore, their authorized reporter, and by Mr. Rothery, the Registrar of the Court. I hope in a later part of these notes to expand the views of what are termed the relations of Church and State to which these judgments of the Privy Council have led me, and which seem to me insufficiently recognized in this country."

## St. Mary's, Bryanston Square

It was towards the end of the year 1865 that Fremantle was appointed by the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, to the Rectory of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, and here for the next seventeen years he accomplished the work which seems in his own judgment to have been the most successful and happy part of his long career. As far back as 1862 he had taken a great interest in the idea of the creation of parish councils which would give the laity of the Church more scope and power in its affairs, and in the following memorandum of Fremantle's we find a clear anticipation of measures which had to wait for nearly sixty years before they were to become accomplished facts.

"In the year 1862 there was a considerable stir in Parliament about Church questions, and a Society for Church Reform was formed of which I was a member. A great meeting was held at St. James's Hall, under the chairmanship of Lord Lyttelton, at which Dr. Barry, Dr. Miller, Dean Stanley, Mr. Cowper Temple and other eminent men spoke. It was determined to bring before the House of Commons a Bill for the establishment of Church Councils in the parishes, a topic on

which I had written a pamphlet entitled 'Lay Power in Parishes, the Most Needed Church Reform.' It was proposed that a council should be elected in each parish, that the incumbent should promise to make no changes in church or parish without the consent of the council, that any measure which was carried should be acted upon only with the incumbent's consent, and that if the council and the incumbent did not agree the matter should be referred to the bishop.

"I was present at the discussion in the House of Commons. Lord Sandon spoke well, though without much spirit, and Mr. Richard, the leader of the Nonconformists, spoke for, if he did not second, the bringing in of the Bill. There was a slight opposition led by Mr. Beresford Hope, but it was evident that the House generally was favourable. Mr. Gladstone, who was Prime Minister, gave a hesitating approval and said that the Second Reading of the Bill might be passed *pro forma;* that those who had brought it forward and those who, like myself, had given the plan a trial were to be thanked, that it would naturally be discussed at the Church Congress and similar meetings in

the recess, and be brought forward again in the next year. Lord Sandon made his reply and assented to the course proposed by Mr. Gladstone. I feel confident that if he had had the push and the courage to go forward he might have carried the House with him and the country would have been aroused to give the laity the power demanded. I could hardly restrain myself from crying out to Lord Sandon, whom I knew, to persevere. But a reform, especially when the clergy are concerned, cannot be carried by rosewater. The Church Congress was held at Northampton, and the question was brought forward. I was asked to read a paper seconding one by Archdeacon Grant, and the feeling of a very large gathering, mostly of clergymen, was naturally undecided; but it seemed as if the mass of those present were ready, though not eager, to accept the proposal. But the delay which Mr. Gladstone had asked for proved fatal. There was no one to give our proposal the necessary impetus, and many of the old Liberals who would naturally be in favour of a reform, like Mr. Harcourt, had no heart for a campaign on a Church question. Mr. Gladstone, though he had not been

hostile, was evidently of a like opinion. And thus the question has remained ever since. But it is not dead, I think."

From the following account of his work in his London parish it is evident that he achieved there a great measure of his ambition and was able to translate into action on the parochial scale what he believed might be accomplished also on the scale of the whole country.

"My desire from the first was to make as near an approach as could be to the ideal of a Christian community. I hold that the vicinity of those living in a parish is in itself a bond of union. St. Paul said to the Athenians that 'God has made of one blood all the nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth and has determined the bounds of their habitations.' This providential view may, I consider, be rightly applied to the divisions by which the Christian nation lives out its social life. The parish is a divinely established microcosm, and though in a great city the larger unities of town and nation come more to view (and it is important that in the municipal and the

national life the Christian social ideal should be maintained), yet many things combine to make the parish one family. We cannot, indeed, expect the parish church to be a spiritual home of all the parishioners, but we can still make it a centre of good in which the rich may aid the poor, and the school may become a nursery of the Christian family, and various institutions may arise for mutual good and for common interests beyond our own narrow boundaries. This is a system in which all can join; and the pastor of the flock may look upon his people as sharing with him in the great enterprise far beyond that of a common worship—which aims at forming each home into a Christian family and every business conducted within their borders the means of serving God, so that, according to one of our noblest collects, 'Every man in his vocation and ministry may truly serve God.' I cannot here expand this principle fully, but my yearly addresses to the parishioners were always designed to carry it into effect and at times fully to set it forth. I had many excellent assistants, and cannot repress a sense of pride in the fact that two of the greatest efforts for the good of the poor of London sprang up in the parish of St.

Mary's, Bryanston Square, namely, that which was carried out by Miss Octavia Hill under the inspiring impulse of the great thinker Mr. Maurice, and that of Toynbee Hall and its adjuncts under Mr. Barnett, who worked with us at St. Mary's for seven years before he began his great work in the East of London. These two great works had a common source and were begun under the shadow of St. Mary's Church.

"Nor was the attempt to carry into effect the ideas enunciated above confined to such works as are commonly thought of as the work of the incumbent and his voluntary assistants. We endeavoured to unite the parish together by means of a parochial council which lasted and bore good fruit so long as I remained. I cannot here recount either the steps which led to the formation of the council or the rules adopted by it; but this may be said. The large and national principle was adopted. No one was excluded from the vote. The parish lent itself well to this arrangement, the gentry, the trading community and the poor occupying each their own portions of the parish. The first list of members contained the names of all ranks, from

DEAN FREMANTLE,

*from the portrait by W. W. Ouless, R.A., at Bedwell Park.*

the Peerage and House of Commons to those in humble stations. I undertook to make no changes in church or parish without the consent of the council; and the council agreed that any decision to which they came should be submitted to the rector for his approbation. This institution worked with perfect success for the twelve years that remained before I left the parish. Everyone approved it; so far from leading to disputes it led to mutual respect between those who differed from one another. We went through all the various modes of work which had been established in the parish, our secretary, Mr. Foot, being one serving under the vestry of Marylebone. After forty years I look back upon the parochial council with perfect satisfaction. It drew out a great deal of energetic work; it enabled Nonconformists to take part in the general religious and social life; and (this I regard as perhaps its best effect) it prevented anyone from finding fault unduly or making captious proposals. Men felt that they were not being managed but trusted. The answer in all such cases was: 'Bring it before the council.'

"I was asked to explain this whole matter at

various church centres, including the Church Congress, and I have given evidence about it before no less than three Royal Commissions. I published a pamphlet on ' Lay Power in Parishes ' ; I tried, with others, to form a Church Reform Society; and, with the assistance of Lord Grey and others, brought out a book on the subject. As already stated, the matter was brought before the House of Commons in a Bill by Lord Sandon, which received a second reading on the assurance of Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, that facilities should be given for it in the next session; but it was crowded out. If I am asked why nothing is done to give the people of England power over their own modes of worship, such as any town possesses for secular matters, I am bound to say that the chief causes are, first, that the laity are not willing to take the requisite trouble; and, secondly (as one of our bishops has bluntly said in a charge), that the beneficed clergy, who are now autocrats, are unwilling to part with any of their power.

" I am as fully persuaded now as when, more than forty years ago, I entitled my pamphlet on the subject ' Lay Power in Parishes: The Most

Needed Church Reform,' that it is the only just way of conducting the Christian Church in England, and is the key to the solution of all its difficulties, but that it must win its way, notwithstanding the paucity of its present advocates and the unwillingness of the laity to take up the question and the opposition at which I have glanced above. In such a matter perseverance wins the day. Wilberforce began his crusade against slavery late in the eighteenth century amid jeers at its impossibility. But before his death his great object was accomplished, and in Parliament and the country he was saluted as the deliverer.

"I may mention here two matters which emanated from the Church Council. The first of these was our system of poor relief. We allied ourselves with the newly formed Charity Organisation Society, which had an office in the parish, and agreed that we would consult them on all cases of poverty arising in the parish, and that they similarly would consult us. We were not bound by their decisions, but readily consulted them, and they us, and that which has been in many parishes the source of trouble and ill-feeling be-

came a recognized means of elevating our poorer members. The council allowed its committee to elect outsiders. One of our best members was a Nonconformist, and our secretary, Mr. Leon, was a Jewish parishioner.

"The other advantages resulting from the council was a system of social gatherings. The parish was divided into districts; every parishioner above sixteen years of age was invited by name; the district visitor, the scripture reader, the school workers helped to introduce the parishioners, as to an evening party, and the people were given the opportunity of knowing their neighbours, with great profit, as we learned in various cases. Entertainment by music and other means was provided, and I closed the gathering by a short address, and shook hands for a hearty good-night with each one as he passed out. We got round the whole parish in this way in about fourteen evenings.

"Besides these special emanations from the council, all the parochial institutions were overhauled. The church was restored—a difficult task in a building of 1820—by Mr. Arthur Blomfield, who was a parishioner; the schools were enlarged, and I found, through the trustful spirit engendered

by our system, that an excellent school committee could be maintained. A good beginning, I think, was made for works, such as the parish-room, which have been successfully carried through by my successors.

"I may add that once a year all those engaged in these beneficent works were gathered in the church, to the number of more than 300, when, after a short service, someone who represented each of these works gave some account of its progress, so that we might work together, and that each effort might work in harmony with the others.

"Nothing was undertaken without the consent of the people, and the list of subjects for which church collections were to be made was submitted to the council. I may add one thing. It was thought that such a council would provoke discussion and discord. We found the reverse to be the case. Men of differing views learned to respect those who did not agree with them. We carried through, at least to a large extent, the idea with which I started of a united body of Christian workers."

# CHAPTER V

## 1882–1895

### CANTERBURY AND BALLIOL

WHEN Fremantle had served seventeen years in his London parish he was called away by Archbishop Tait, as he had now become, to a canonry of Canterbury. It appears that the archbishop judged that in the parishes of his new diocese a new breath of life might be imparted if among the canons of the cathedral one at least would make it his mission to go about and infuse a more invigorating spirit of co-operation and fellowship between clergy and laity, and that his former chaplain, the Rector of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, was the man to do it. Fremantle himself showed no hesitation or uncertainty about making the change, so far as can be now ascertained. But it is not a little remarkable that as soon as he came face to face with the actual situation and with the expectations which the archbishop had formed of it, he quickly perceived that

he would not be able to repeat on the wider field the good work which he had accomplished on the narrower ground of a parish. He found he had not the equipment, and he doubted whether the ecclesiastical system itself would admit of the fulfilment of the archbishop's wishes. It is characteristic of the Dean's humility and sincerity that he has recorded so frankly his sense of his inability to do what was expected of him, as the following note shows:

"I fear that my work there did not respond to his intentions. He thought that it would be possible for a man still young to give a stimulus to the parochial energies of the diocese. But I saw at once that I had not the faculties needed for this, if indeed it was possible that such a work could be accomplished. A man with high powers as a preacher might possibly do it, or a man with great organizing power might be asked by the incumbent for his advice; but the system of the Church of England barely admits of this, unless the holding of parochial missions be considered as fulfilling the archbishop's wish, and the demand for these seems to be failing. I was therefore

thrown back upon the openings which presented themselves at Oxford."

By these "openings" Fremantle meant not so much the work which came later, when he was a college tutor, but invitations to preach occasionally in the University pulpit and elsewhere, and also some invitations to write for the projectors of the Dictionary of Sacred Biography.

While he was still Rector of St. Mary's he received and accepted in 1873 an invitation to attend some meetings in America designed to bring the various denominations of Christians into better knowledge of one another.

Mrs. Fremantle went with him, and they visited centres in Chicago, St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, Washington, Boston and New York.

They went to Quebec also, and there found themselves in the midst of interesting political events, owing to the difficulties in which the Governor-General (Lord Dufferin) found himself on account of having summoned a short session of Parliament for appointing a Committee to report on certain charges against Mr. Macdonnel, the Prime Minister. Fremantle had an introduc-

tion to the Governor-General, and records how kind and interested he was to talk over the political situation with one able to look on it with the detachment of a traveller.

It was Dr. Lightfoot who had invited Fremantle to contribute to the Dictionary of Sacred Biography, and the subject assigned to him was to have been St. Jerome. Westcott also was one of those engaged in planning the work, but when he and Lightfoot both were called to their high and exacting positions in the Church, and to serve on the committee for a revised version of the New Testament, their place was taken by Dr. Smith, and then, after further delays, by Dr. Wace.

When Fremantle returned from America, and before moving to Canterbury, he preached some sermons at Oxford which, as he says, "encouraged by a word from Jowett," he published under the title of "The Gospel of the Secular Life." The volume included two sermons of earlier date. The title might justly be taken as summing up the one distinctive idea which dominated Fremantle's mind for the rest of his life, and is the main contribution he felt called to offer to his contemporaries. The book is prefaced with an essay of

thirty pages, expounding the general position taken by him, of which he strikes the keynote in the first sentence:

"These sermons are published as an attempt to direct Christian thought into a new channel, its great, not to say paramount, concern with the general, common or secular life of mankind."

He explains his view in detail, and in the course of the argument writes one passage at least on the subject of divisions among Christians which is an anticipation of thoughts that are stirring the Church still more strongly after the passage of another thirty or forty years:

"The divisions among Christians. It is felt, on the one hand, that the divisions have no sufficient ground of conviction, that they are, in fact, to a great extent an anachronism, and that there is a real unity independent of them which is struggling to gain expression. Men are a little ashamed of these divisions, and of the fact that Christianity is a cause of disagreement rather than of unity in the world, especially in the political life. But, on the other hand, there is a kind of

impotence which makes them fall back helplessly into sectarianism, at least into that modified sectarianism which is content with outward courtesy without healing the division, and which is thus liable to the reproach of want of principle. Men cannot frankly discuss their differences without sliding again into the grooves of the old and effete controversies.

"The surest way to get rid of this sectarianism is to find new ground which is unaffected by it. So long as modes of worship, and the government of the clergy, and the little interests of congregations, or the reduction of religious ideas to abstract and disputable propositions are looked upon as the main business of Christianity there is no way out of sectarianism. But when Christians find out that their main business is to promote truth in all departments of human knowledge, and love in all the relations of human life, and that they have a concern also in all that beautifies and refines human existence, and that all the energy of their faith in God and in Christ is needed to sustain the progress of mankind, they will find out also that the ground of their discord recedes into its natural littleness, and that the faith by which they all

are actuated is a great moral power, as to the possession and use of which there is no controversy."

In regard to this volume, his first published work after the collection of the Privy Council judgments in 1865 which he issued jointly with his friend Brodrick, he notes that when it came out

"it seemed to take the public as new and interesting, both in England and America. The whole edition was sold off within a few months. I had letters about it from all parts, and the sermons were translated into French and published in a newspaper in Geneva. But a second edition brought in no return.

"My ideas were, however, taken up. In America a book was published by a minister whom I afterwards met, which followed the same line of thought. And an interesting thing occurred in England. There was a considerable stir at this time made by the well-known book of Professor Drummond, 'Natural Law in the Spiritual World.' The professor came to Oxford, and addressed various meetings of the undergraduates

with some acceptance. I was not in agreement with some of the views expressed in his book, and, being by chance left alone with him, I ventured to say to him that an expression used in his book, to the effect that a man who had not been converted was as much without God as a stone was without life, was too great a limitation of the spiritual life, since many persons who would not be considered as 'converted' might be serving God truly in secular avocations in ways not recognized as specially religious.

"I never had the pleasure of meeting Professor Drummond again. But some months after this interview I found in a new book of his a quotation from one of my sermons some three or four pages long, with only a few words of acknowledgment stating that the words which he quoted had been preached before the University of Oxford. Some years after this I was staying in Edinburgh with the Rector of St. Eustace Church, for whom I preached, and who was a friend of Drummond's, and upon my mentioning to him the incident he took down from his library two books, the 'Gospel of the Secular Life' and Professor Drummond's book containing the quotation from it.

"The later series of the professor's books showed a great change in his teaching, which I believe brought him some distrust from his former friends. I think that this is well known, and if the good cause of a more liberal teaching has been served I am content. It is thus that truth advances. I am writing at Whitsuntide, and I recall that some fifty years ago I was preaching in a London church on a text in the lesson for the previous Sunday, which urges as a result of the coming of the Holy Spirit, 'As every man hath received the gift, so minister the same one to another as good stewards of the manifold grace of God.' These incidents may serve for the vindication of which I have spoken in the preface to this autobiography."

About the same time (1882) that Archbishop Tait persuaded Fremantle to leave London for Canterbury he also received a request from Jowett that he would become a Tutorial Fellow and Chaplain of Balliol, holding both appointments together. This involved a good deal of consideration, for it meant not only keeping up two houses, and the business of transferring his

large family three times a year between Canterbury and Oxford, but it meant also surrendering any attempt to carry out the project of the Archbishop in regard to the new canon making an endeavour to stimulate the activities of parochial life in the diocese of Canterbury generally. He notes with candour that the Archbishop felt some vexation at this abandonment and disapproved his acceptance of Jowett's offer, which he nevertheless accepted on the ground before mentioned that he was convinced of his inability to make anything of the Archbishop's project. He records the circumstance as follows:

"The Archbishop, who was then sinking under the illness to which he succumbed some three months later, was, I fear, vexed at my not falling in with the plan he had formed, but he did not press me, and Jowett rushed me on in a manner that was irresistible to one who owed him so much as I did, and I assented. It seemed, I suppose, strange that I should hold so many offices together. But the tenure of these involved: first, the tutorship and chaplaincy during four or five months of the year; secondly, close residence at Canterbury

for two months; thirdly, the upkeep of two homes; fourthly, the transport of my large family to and from Canterbury three times each way in the year. The salaries also were decreasing; that of the canonry fell from £1,000 a year to a doubtful £600. This last, indeed, was practically almost the whole of my emoluments. We had, however, to take a house in Oxford, and this enabled me to lend it during the Long Vacation to the Barnetts (of Toynbee Hall) and other friends."

Another inducement which weighed with him in his decision to go to Oxford was the offer at this time that he should give the Bampton Lectures, which came about in the following way. His article on St. Jerome for the "Dictionary of Christian Biography" had been put in print before the volume to which it belonged was completed. In this form it was shown by Dr. Hatch to several of the electors of the Bampton Lecturer, and was commended to them also by Fremantle's life-long friend the Warden of Merton. His first candidature for the lectureship had failed in favour of that of John Wordsworth (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury), but this time

he was elected to deliver the Lectures in 1883, which gave him an opportunity to propound his views in a more prominent way than any which had as yet been open to him. He took as his theme "The World as the Subject of Redemption," and for the scope of his argument and the reception accorded to his work the reader is referred to his preface in the second or American edition published in 1895, in which he records how much greater was the appreciation he met with in the New World than that which greeted his book in England.

He continues his notes of this period as follows:

"It was some time before the house at Canterbury would be ready for us; and for the Long Vacation of 1882, when I was preparing my lectures and required constant access to a good library, Jowett most kindly lent us the Master's Lodge at Balliol. In October, 1882, I begun my work as tutor and chaplain.

"I preached the Bampton Lectures in 1883, though through my various avocations they were not published till 1885. They were published by

the Rivingtons, whose business soon after passed into the hands of Longmans. They had the usual official sale, but I think the original publishers and their *clientèle* were not sympathetic, and this prevented their being largely circulated; indeed it was at one time seriously proposed to sell off the remaining copies and give up the publication. But in America the book was largely taken up, and for some thirty years I continued to receive sums from £40 to £5 from this source. Few, I fancy, of the Bampton Lectures except those by distinguished men and of a controversial character have had so long a sale. At the time of their delivery Jowett was Vice-Chancellor and attended the University church *ex officio*. He usually spoke to me on the way back to college, and his comments were not merely encouraging but laudatory in the extreme. But they failed to create interest, and I never noticed any of the Fellows of my college among the audience. This was disheartening and made an unfortunate beginning to the ten years of my tutorship at Balliol. I think it right to make some comments upon this.

"I have mentioned the fact that when the

setting up of the school of theology as one of the subjects of examination for degrees was under discussion it was opposed by Jowett. His position and influence were peculiar. During the time in which he was the subject of ill treatment he seemed to take no interest in the religious part of college life. It would seem that he was so much afraid of the ecclesiasticism which seemed to beset it that he thought that no good was to be expected except from the fortuitous good influences of a University life. When he became master in 1870 a sudden change took place; he took up the habit of attending the chapel morning and evening with great regularity and administering the communion every Sunday. But this could not obliterate the past; it could not but appear as a mere appanage of his official position. The respect for his great qualities remained; many of his sermons told, though somewhat indirectly, upon the conscience of young men; but the college was looked upon in the public estimation as completely secularized. I have recorded elsewhere the testimony of one who could speak better than anyone of Jowett's position in these matters: 'I have known him for long years

and in every phase of life; but I never thought of him at all as a religious man; only when his life was written I saw that he was so. God was in all his thoughts.' But, though he honoured good men like Mr. Christopher, or like Bishop Patteson, the whole cause of missions was repugnant to him. I may add, as to the estimate in which the college was held, I happened to meet an old friend soon after I became tutor, who wished me well in my new work. I said, 'What do you think my work is?' He answered, 'To keep a great college in the lines.'

"A noble endeavour! but one which demanded the co-operation of all its officers and especially of their commander. But this I never had. It was the custom on St. Katharine's Day in the autumn that a new Fellow should be introduced to his coadjutors in the common room so that they should all work together. The day came shortly after my arrival, and I greatly wished to point out to them the hopes which had made me, almost by compulsion, to take up the work. But for the first time Jowett said not a word and my opportunity was lost. Then it was an excellent custom that every Friday afternoon we should hold a college

meeting at which each tutor should note the progress of his pupils and in which he might point out the matters in which he and his comrades could reciprocally aid one another. I made it a point of conscience to attend these meetings, and I heard with much advantage what was said of those specially under my care. But the master never in a single instance asked me about them. 'Mr. So-and-so, please tell us of your pupils in Greek, or history or mathematics.' But I had to sit by as a mere onlooker. Similarly, when Jowett had the excellent idea of inviting to a feast or 'gaudy' each set of past-members of the college, and an invitation was given to the clergy who had been educated at Balliol, I longed for the opportunity of telling them that the idea of the secularization of the college was to a great extent erroneous. I could have told them of societies in the college for the encouragement of mutual edification, for the discussion of Church matters; I could have pointed out that just at that time we had an accession of serious young men, that our chapel was better attended than, as I believed, any college chapel in Oxford, and things of a similar kind. But no notice was taken of the work for which I

had come to Oxford. The health of the guests and the clergy generally was committed to a friend of mine who made a capital after-dinner speech, but again I lost my opportunity.

"I have mentioned above some of the college societies which I naturally attended. I have spoken of one bearing directly on the spiritual life. I had held one of this kind as an undergraduate, and I found it, or its successor, in activity when I returned as tutor. I attended it rarely, for fear of repressing the freedom of the young men's speech; but I found a much greater ease amongst them than I had known at the earlier date. There was a Church Society which did its work well, and another society for discussing similar questions not confined to 'churchmen.' There was much interest in the work of Canon Barnett, which has subsequently led to far larger results.

"But I cannot look back to the years spent as tutor with any sense of success. I had taken the office of theological tutor by such persuasion on the part of the master as almost amounted to compulsion, and against the advice of the archbishop, a former tutor of the college and a friend of Jowett's; but I think the master, whose mind

was fixed on the success of the college, must have been disappointed with the result. It was necessary, according to the statutes, that one of the Fellows should be in Holy Orders, and having secured this he seemed to consider that he might stand aside. No doubt he was glad when any of my pupils got a first class in the schools, but he did nothing to help on the work. He very rarely, even in private, inquired about it. Indeed, when I was working on my translation of Jerome's treatises he once wished to say a kind word. It was only: 'How do you get on with the works of St. Chrysostom?'

"I wished to see the ordinary church work more effective, and especially to see the Holy Communion made a living centre of the life of the college. In old times the practice was to have the communion once in the middle of each term, when every member of the college attended after a special mark of its importance by the tutors, which I have described. But (through whatever influences) the master had allowed this to be exchanged for an early communion every week, which, though he himself attended, was attended by about 20 out of the 130 undergraduates, only

one of the tutors coming to it, and he irregularly. I was anxious to restore the communion to what I believe to have been its real object, that is, to give men a sense of spiritual brotherhood which might pervade the whole life of the community. I do not think that this is realized by small knots of men separate from the rest coming with great frequency to the Lord's table, which is the model now set before the Church. We need that those who work together day by day should join in that which our Saviour designed when He said : 'Take this and divide it among yourselves.' 'Drink ye all of it.' I spoke to the master about this, but he merely said that in his early days little was made of the communion; he had known men who were sincere Christians who hardly ever attended. I could do nothing; but I had prepared a short paper to distribute amongst the men, and had it in proof. But when I came to speak to the master about it I found others there on business, and the master merely took up my paper and put it aside with a gesture of something like contempt, saying, '*Do* you think this is the way to do good?'

"I may add two personal matters which made my position difficult. I wrote an article for the

*Fortnightly Review* on 'Theology in its Changed Conditions,' showing the changes in the statement of religious truth which had come about in our time. I showed it to one of the professors of theology, who gave me his approval, and the editor thanked me warmly for its sober and careful treatment. What, therefore, was my surprise to find myself denounced from the University pulpit because of this article? The preacher had been appointed to preach on the progress of religion in the British colonies, but he began his sermon by culling out (always an unfair process) some sentences of mine and some from a work of my friend Dr. Edwin Abbott, and then declared that while such statements were made with impunity it was of no use to speak of the progress of the Church. It was an incitement to persecution and really an act of defamation. We had many friends in common, and I asked him after a time to join me in a walk, which helped, being repeated several times, to prevent any open breach; but the mischief was done, and I had to know that the young men who were being prepared for ordination condemned me. The rising ecclesiastical tendency, I now knew,

would view askance any of my teaching. There was a festival at Cuddesdon College about this time at which the Principal, though he did not mention my name, being an old friend of my own, denounced me as having come to Oxford lately with the intention of combating the work of another old friend, the professor of pastoral theology. I wrote to point out that I had never said anything of this kind, and he admitted that the shaft was aimed at me and begged my pardon. But again the mischief was done, and my hope of doing good was impaired. Moreover, opposite to the side of Balliol in St. Giles's the Pusey House had been erected for the object of perpetuating the influence of Dr. Pusey; and as Balliol was not esteemed an adequate place for young men who looked forward to ordination, I found that there was a constant influence which drew them away from us. An instance of this occurs to me—that of a young man of some promise. He wished to choose his own subjects; and when I prescribed to him the history of the Reformation as being a useful subject connected with the general life of England, he told me that he had set his mind upon the old liturgies, and it was very difficult to induce him to make a

change, and I felt that there was nothing at Balliol to induce him to turn to the more fruitful study.

"I mention these things in accordance with what I have said in the prefatory memoranda in answer to any who may ask why it is that, with so many advantages, I was unable to exert a more powerful influence for good.

"I was succeeded in my position as theological tutor by Palmer, the son of my old friend, now Bishop of Bombay. He was young enough to join with the undergraduates in their general life, and it was a pleasure to me to assist in his election to a Fellowship, a pleasure in which the master heartily joined. Since then the work has been taken on by Mr. Gibbon, who had come to Oxford to work in the 'evangelical pastorate,' being the son of a canon of Ripon with whom I was associated later on, after a career in the army, and who has so completely secured the confidence and affection of all around him that the college has procured for him an honorary degree and elected him to a Fellowship. He has recently said that, in all that he has done he has followed the lines which I had marked out.

"I have said above that I was engaged during my time at Oxford on the editing of the chief works of St. Jerome. It happened in this way. During my visit to America I was introduced to Dr. Schaff, the editor of the Schaff-Hertzog 'Encyclopædia of Living Divines,' and when he came to Oxford he stayed with us. He was then engaged in an English edition of the post-Nicene Fathers, and he begged me to undertake the translation of the chief works of St. Jerome, which I gladly accepted. Dr. Schaff died before we had made much progress, and the work passed into other hands, but is, I hope, of real value to students of the third and fourth centuries of the Church. I had two coadjutors, the Rev. C. Lewis and G. W. Martley, both of Balliol, who made a translation which I corrected and revised. I also made the index. It was a laborious work, especially as a good many corrections had to be made after the stereotype plates had been made, and it interested only a comparatively small body of readers, but it gave me some insight into the ideas which underlay the whole history of the Western Church until the Reformation. I may add that I wrote the articles on the chief men

connected with Jerome in the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography.' I did not, however, continue these studies of the fourth century, being occupied with matters of more pressing interest.

"On the death of Professor Jowett the question of his successor arose. The man who was naturally pointed out as his successor was the senior tutor, Mr. Strachan Davidson, who at a later time became master. He had served the college long and well, and was prominent in all University matters. But his health had often failed, and a few of those most interested had objections to him. I proposed him and might, I believe, have got him elected, but I thought those who were engaged in the ordinary work of the college were more competent judges, and they elected Dr. Edward Caird, then professor at Glasgow University. Davidson showed a most generous spirit, not only not attempting to create an opposition, but telegraphing at once to his opponent to say that he would give him his whole-hearted support, and calling upon the members of the college that evening to wait after dinner to drink the health of the elected master, to whom and to his wife he paid a high tribute.

"I stayed on at Balliol for a year under Dr. Caird and found him worthy of this tribute and gave him my best support. I suggested to him a work which he afterwards carried into effect, that of giving religious lectures to the college. They were published as lay sermons, and I presume that they formed an entirely new departure as the teaching to an Oxford College of a Presbyterian layman. His successor has done the same, advancing a step farther, however, by preaching his sermons in the chapel."

There is something of the *lacrimae rerum* in reading Fremantle's own reflections upon his twelve years' work as chaplain and tutor of Balliol. "On looking back," he wrote, "on my tutorship at Oxford, I feel that I ought not to have accepted the position. I will mention three matters which I think, whether rightly or not, stood in the way of my full success."

The three things to which he refers were: (1) his being rejected as a lecturer on the English Reformation from what he considered an unfair bias against his teaching on the part of those who arranged the lectures; (2) a refusal by the then

Rural Dean of Oxford, Mr. Freeling, to allow him to hold an informal conference of theological tutors to discuss what attempts were being made "to promote earnest religion among undergraduates"; (3) he considered an injury was done to his influence through a circumstance of which he says, "An article which I wrote for the *Fortnightly Review* under the title 'Theology under Changed Conditions' unfortunately got united by the editor with other papers under the title 'The New Reformation,' and owing to some of these other papers making light of our Saviour and His teaching and work, some men who are dear to me, whose opinion I greatly value, were alarmed."

To which he adds the reflection:

"It is most important, however, that those who undertake to criticize what is written should read it carefully and give thought before they judge; an ill-formed opinion grounded very often on mere hearsay, passed on from one to another, is sure to lead astray."

Near the end of Fremantle's term at Canter-

bury there fell on him and Mrs. Fremantle the great sorrow of losing their eldest son, William Archibald Culling Fremantle, who died of typhus fever at Naini Tal in India. He was aged twenty-nine and had just completed his training as a missionary under the Church Missionary Society. His parents printed for private circulation among their friends a touching and beautiful account of his life and vocation.

It should also be here recorded that in the year 1885, from the pulpit of Canterbury Cathedral, as canon in residence, Fremantle preached seven striking sermons, afterwards published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton with the title "A Pleading Against War," of which the several subjects were these:

1. The War-Spirit and its Sources.
2. The Moral Evils of War.
3. Christ's Law of Mediation.
4. The British Empire—Peace and War.
5. Peace a better Moral School than War.
6. Excuses for War.*
7. Hopes for the Prevalence of Peace.

* The sermon on "Excuses for War" is reprinted in the supplementary chapters of this book. See page 157

Photo: Pictorial Agency.

RIPON CATHEDRAL

# CHAPTER VI

## 1895–1916

### FREMANTLE AS DEAN OF RIPON

THE main work of Fremantle's life was done before he went to Ripon, and his teaching and principles were already clearly unfolded in his "Gospel of the Secular Life" and in his Bampton Lectures on "The World as the Subject of Redemption"; but it gave him pleasure that, five years after his appointment to Ripon, an invitation from America to deliver the William Noble Lectures at Harvard for the year 1900 afforded him a further opportunity to develop those views of the Christian religion which were dearer to him than anything else, and which he upheld with such sincerity and conviction through his whole career. We shall endeavour to relate those views to the thought and life of the present time in a concluding chapter, and intend only to devote this one to giving the outline narrative of this last period of his life in its natural course.

He did not escape controversy, though he disliked it, and in the neighbourhood of Ripon and in the city itself he wished to be a man of peace and to use all his influence to cultivate good relations with all men so far as in him lay.

He received the offer of the Deanery from Lord Rosebery in 1895, and what has been recorded in the last chapter will have led the reader to see why it was right and natural for him to accept it.

The position of a dean is very different from that of a bishop. If he had been expected to move about frequently in the populous centres of the West Riding and to engage in anything like the work which his old friend Archbishop Tait had designed for him at Canterbury, he might well have shrunk from so formidable a task. But the calling of a dean is primarily to take care of the cathedral and its services, of which, with his chapter of canons, he is the chief guardian and minister; and secondly to use such leisure as may be granted him to continue those habits of learning and study now rendered difficult for bishops to pursue, and to give of the fruit of such habits by preaching or writing so

as to enrich the life of the Church on a wide range.

When he first came to Ripon, and for all but the whole of his time there, it was a very quiet little city, somewhat removed from the busier parts of the diocese, and not giving much scope for the kind of experiments which he had so successfully initiated at St. Mary's, Bryanston Square. But with the war there came presently a large military camp established just outside the city, and this for a time changed the character of the place and filled the minster with large congregations of soldiers; but this did not take place till Fremantle's health had begun to fail so much that it prevented him throwing himself into the new developments that were required and led him to see that he must resign those new endeavours to other hands.

He was fortunate when he came into residence in 1895 to find in Bishop Boyd Carpenter at the Palace one who was like-minded with himself in his general theological position, and whose friendship and sympathy he could rely on when he found himself criticized and out of favour with certain circles of opinion in the diocese, apt to

look askance on anything new in religion or criticism, and with but very small power to appreciate the influences which had gone to the making of the Dean's mind.

One of those influences reaching far back in his life was the sympathy with everything liberal which was developed in him by contact with the French Protestants and by the recoil of his own mind from the claim to Infallibility put forward by the Pope in 1870. This had brought him into contact with Père Hyacinthe; and having regard to one of his objects in making his autobiographical notes it is right to give here what he himself calls "a digression," but which, looking back upon from the quiet scene of his Deanery, he felt to be of some importance as a record and wished to gather in as part of the harvest of his life. He writes:

"I must here digress for a while and take the reader to France. I had seen a little of the Vaudois country in the later part of my winter in Italy, and my residence at Claydon had added to this. My uncle was greatly attached to the Protestants of the valleys of Felix Neff, and I

had seen something of them when in the North of Italy, where they had established a church in Turin, and they profited by the longing for liberty which had such great results a few years later in Garibaldi and Cavour. Ruskin has given us some few pages of his reminiscences bearing testimony to their simple faith. They were under persecution at the time I was in Italy, and, a short time before, the family of the Madiai had been imprisoned, and their case had created much sympathy in England, and by the efforts of our Government they had been liberated. There were other similar things while I was there, in one of which Lord John Russell, then our Foreign Minister, intervened with good effect. I had been present at some of their meetings for worship, and had made an excursion into the valleys, so well known in England through Milton's famous sonnet, beginning

"'Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold.'

"But my uncle's work lay on the northern slopes of the Alps, and he made annual journeys

to help them, and collected money for schools and parsonages for them. I accompanied him in some of these efforts, and went on one or two journeys instead of him, accompanied or assisted by my friend Auguste Bouvier, afterwards Professor of Theology at Geneva, a man whose liberal theology and deep piety was of great use and effect among the French Protestants. He married the highly gifted daughter of Monsieur Monod, the well-known Protestant preacher in Paris. We formed a deep attachment, cemented by the fact that Mme. Bouvier had spent a year with my wife and her sister as a companion. This led to several visits of our families to Geneva and Canterbury reciprocally, and a summer sojourn of some of my children with me at a village named Sunburg, in the Jura, where the Bouviers were staying. The work for the Vaudois was carried on for a good many years; but the changes in the status of all ministers of religion in France rendered it more difficult. I succeeded my uncle as president of the society, which met in Lyons, but our efforts had to be merged in the general one of the 'Protestants disséminés,' who operate still in the Vaudois Valley, where the great work of Felix

Neff will, I feel sure, never disappear, and in the various towns in Italy.

"The great upheaval, which in 1870 issued on the one hand in the Council of the Vatican and its decrees, and on the other in the Franco-German war, led to another phase of special interest to me—the secession of Père Hyacinthe from the Roman Church as committed to the dogma of the Pope's infallibility. The question whether the Pope was to be considered infallible when he spoke what was accepted as true by the whole Church, or whether he was infallible by himself and without the consent of the Church, has long been a subject of dispute amongst the Roman Catholics, the great Orders being divided, the Benedictine in favour of the separate infallibility, the Franciscans against it. Whatever were the motives of Pius IX in making himself by himself the decider of all great questions, it is certain that in the proclamation of this dogma he was not speaking the voice of the Church, and many of the chief men, amongst them Darboy, the Archbishop of Paris, were opposed to it, and their opposition was only got over by the Pope making their assent to the

dogma the condition of his granting licences for marriage and other necessary things, without which the ordinary work of the Church could not be carried on. Hyacinthe, as M. Loyson was called 'in religion,' being the head of the Carmelites in France, persevered in his dissent, and left his position in the Church. He was a man honoured by everyone, as Mr. Gladstone, who knew him, proclaimed, 'one of the most loyal of existing men.' He had been appointed by the archbishop (Darboy) to preach the Advent lectures at Nôtre Dame, where he drew congregations of 4,000 men—a post such as hardly any other man could fill, the grandest to which any French priest could aspire; and he gave it all up for conscience' sake, leaving himself in complete penury. He came to England by the invitation of some of our most esteemed Churchmen, and gave a series of lectures at St. James's Hall, at which men like the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Gladstone took the chair, to overflowing assemblies. Being now free from the discipline of the Roman Church, he married an American lady whom he had long known—the rule of the celibacy of the clergy being purely one of discipline, not of dogma—

a bishop of the Church giving in private the marriage benediction. But he was treated by his former co-religionists as a rebel and practically excommunicated; and many of our English clergy treated him in the same way. He tried to establish a free congregation in Paris, but the attempt failed, and for the rest of his life he went about France preaching the gospel apart from the Papal system, but followed, wherever he spoke, by general acceptance and esteem, entering as little as possible into controversy, but believing that the pure gospel which he preached, of the Christian faith in its application to the spiritual life, both of individuals, of society and of the nation, would eventually win its way.

"Père Hyacinthe and his wife were henceforth without the means of support. But men like Dean Stanley and Canon Meyrick, and many high-placed laymen, such as the Duke of Northumberland, and bishops like Bishop Wordsworth of Salisbury and the American Bishop of New York, subscribed for an annuity which should ensure that the great preacher and evangelist should not be in want in these later years. I was asked to undertake this work, and obtained an

annuity of £145 a year for him. I saw him several times before the end of his life, in which he strenuously continued his mission, preaching in Paris till after he had passed his 80th year. It was pathetic to the last degree when I saw him in Paris and he spoke with gratitude of the subscribers to this fund, to feel his hand upon my shoulder and to hear him say: 'Vous êtes mon sauveur.'

"I cannot help transcribing his letter of farewell to the friends who had succoured him, hoping that his memory will not be lost now that we are at peace with France, and that his son, Paul Loyson, an interpreter in the French Army, has lately paid this country a visit of friendship.

"'110 Rue du Bac, Paris.
'February 4, 1912.

'My dear English Friend,—From my bed where I lie in severe sickness, I wish to convey to you personally the message of Christian brotherhood and human gratitude with which I have already charged my dear old friend, Dean Fremantle.

'I am about to enter the 86th year of my life, and soon into the permanent glory of my God.

'I have done for my countrymen to the best

of my abilities. Had I been born an Englishman, perhaps my work would have yielded more fruit for the same cause, that of liberty unsevered from faith: *fides quaerens intellectum.*

'Whatever I may have achieved, I wish to say, upon the eve of my life, that the material means thereof have been granted me, thanks to your generous help.

'I dictate these lines to my son, and being at the time incapable of holding the pen, I ask him to sign this letter to you in my name.

'For Père Hyacinthe.
'Paul Hyacinthe.'

"I have said nothing yet of my ministry as a preacher, which is, or should be, the most important part. While at Marylebone I preached always on the Sunday mornings but also on three Sundays in the month in the evenings, being anxious to address the poorer part of the congregation. But I admit that this plan did not give scope for the preaching of my curates even when they were able men, such as A. S. W. Young, who became and remains Rector of Kingston-on-Thames; Mr. Diggle, who had a remarkable career embracing his work on the School Board of London, and Mr. Barnett, afterwards so well known as the founder of Toynbee

Hall and Canon of Westminster. I preached at one of the evening services at St. Paul's, and afterwards several times at Westminster Abbey both morning and evening by the invitation of Canon Wilberforce and Dean Stanley, and afterwards of Canon Barnett, and of course at several of the churches near Ripon; at Ripon itself, where the statutes only demand that the Dean should preach the morning sermons on the chief festivals and on the first Sunday of each month. I followed my two last predecessors in preaching also every Sunday evening, but with very varied success, sometimes, as on one Whit Sunday, in the evening at Westminster Abbey, and at times in Ripon Cathedral, making a strong impression, at others having to regret a failure; and this last chiefly because of a habit I had formed early of attempting to say too much and consequently demanding too much from the attention of the congregation. This I feel strongly might have been remedied by greater care and self-control, and the absence of these qualities is rightly to be blamed. I may also, so far as a man can criticize himself, say that on any new ground I seemed to succeed, but on a second occasion to fail.

## The Divinity College

"Bishop Boyd Carpenter, whom I had known before I went to Ripon, founded a divinity college there, but I did little for it through my original distrust of this separation of ordination candidates from the Universities, though I kept in touch with the principal and with the vice-principal, who was killed by an accident on the Alps, and with Mr. Major, his successor, who remained as vice-principal till the great blow received by the theological colleges from the war with Germany. Great liberality was shown in the establishment and working of the college, but it is not certain that the attempt to unite the liberal and evangelical elements in the government and working of the college will succeed, however desirable this union may be.

"In the last year of my tenure of the Deanery the great change was made of the conversion of Ripon from being a small country town of 9,000 people into a great military centre of 40,000 or 50,000. Some of our citizens dreaded the change, but all took part in the effort to provide all that is needful for the spiritual and social needs of the soldiers and also of the navvies who built the camp. We had special services for which our

ordinary congregation showed great willingness. One of our minor canons became head chaplain to the camp, and the other chaplains assisted in the extra services; the soldiers crowded into our evening services, and the canons were very active in all that was done. My last clerical act was to administer the Holy Communion in the Cathedral and to preach to three hundred soldiers at a special celebration at which one hundred communicated.

"I must not omit another interesting scene which took place in my last year at Ripon—the gathering of the members of the Society of Modern (or Liberal) Churchmen which took place in August, 1915. I was happy to receive them in the Cathedral and to take part in their conference at the Spa Hotel, which was made the centre of their activities. We had a special communion together, and sermons were preached in connexion with the Union by Canon Waugh and Dr. Barnes, then Master of the Temple, the discussions being held at the Spa Hotel.

"A great deal of interest was taken during the later part of my tenure of the Deanery of Ripon in the question of houses for the canons.

## The Deanery

The Deanery appears to have been created about the year 1621 (I follow the date given in the excellent book on the cathedral by the Bishop of Knaresborough), but to have been designed as a community house, and it is so marked in the old maps and other printed documents. But when the idea of the celibacy of the clergy passed away a new arrangement was required, and later a house was purchased in which the canons might live by turns during their three months of residence, and this was the only residence for the four canons till within a few years ago. But this again was inconvenient, each canon having only three months occupation of the house, a system which almost of necessity implied non-residence for nine months in the year and other undesirable results. To obviate the evils of this system the late bishop (Boyd Carpenter) conceived the plan of making all the canons permanently resident by providing a house for each of them and requiring that none of them should take any other position in the Church but should devote himself to some work in the diocese. A large sum for the building of the new houses was subscribed, and after many

vicissitudes the fund was so near completion that it was thought possible to begin building at once. But this and a great many other good projects had to be postponed on account of the war.

"The value, however, of the effort was not confined to the advantage to be given by it to the establishment at Ripon. It points to larger benefits to the Church which probably will affect the whole Cathedral system whenever Church Reform is taken up in earnest by the nation. At present the chapter of each cathedral consists of a body of clergy who are ruled by certain statutes demanding from them a small amount of clerical duties, all of them in the cathedral alone, but without any connexion with the parish or the diocese, the bishop being nominally visitor, but with very uncertain powers. The chapter are a remnant of the monastic system, and under the changed conditions of the present day should constitute a body of clergy to whom diocesan duties should be assigned, such as education, the promotion of intellectual life generally, the elucidation of the more difficult questions of Church life as they arise, each having his own special subject, but all working together and

helping one another by suggestion and prayerful sympathy; and the powers of the visitor should be enlarged and defined, so that he may be like the head of a college, a constant stimulant and director to the whole body. It is not necessary at present to attempt any further definitions.

"Among the attempts which I made as Dean of Ripon for the good of the people, none I think had a larger influence than my recognition where it was possible of the Nonconformists, who were both friendly and doing much good. I issued each Christmas time a 'call for prayer' on all the matters of chief interest which were before us, and I addressed it 'to the citizens of Ripon.' It was sent to all those who would be likely to receive it, and was placed in the churches and chapels in the first Sunday in the year. It received a kindly welcome also from Lord Ripon, though he had joined the Church of Rome, and from the priest in charge of the Roman Church in Ripon.

"We also held united meetings for prayer at the beginning of each year, in which we all joined, and both the bishops during my stay at

Ripon (Dr. Boyd Carpenter and Dr. Drury) spoke or offered prayer.

"I think that the spirit of union amongst Christians was fostered practically by these and similar measures. When the Belgian refugees came in great numbers to us they were welcomed by rich and poor alike; a ladies' committee was formed to which not only Churchmen and Nonconformists belonged, but great kindness was shown by all classes, and our friend the Roman Catholic minister, who was able to converse and have influence with the refugees, was president; and neither there nor elsewhere did any controversy or dispute arise."

## CHAPTER VII

### NUNC DIMITTIS

THE reference made at the end of the last chapter to the uniting influence of the work for Belgian refugees occasioned by the war forms a fitting close to the record of the Dean's active work at Ripon.

That influence towards closer union between Christians was at least a little good arising out of the great calamity of war. Soon after the event referred to he felt obliged to resign his office, and he then retired to London where he was able to see some of his old friends. All homes were then under the shadow of the war, and his latter days were not free from that cloud. Yet even then there were forces at work and changes of opinion were preparing which presently altered the face of Church life and showed how far-seeing some of his most characteristic thoughts had been. It is probable that he would not have much favoured the creation

of the Church's National Assembly, outside the Houses of Parliament, for he was never able to recognize the enormous congestion of Parliamentary work which led to Church affairs being handled in so perfunctory a manner that their neglect became intolerable. He did not want disestablishment and did not fear the influence of lay politicians. His simple evangelical piety was still the master light of all his seeing, and led him to cherish hopes which other men had long abandoned, of being able through existing channels to permeate and consecrate secular life with the religious means already at the Church's disposal. Parliament to him was as religious a thing as a Church synod or a diocesan conference. In this view he attracted little sympathy from any quarter. Yet in his desire to give more power to the laity and to draw into closer association the various bodies of professed Christians he anticipated some of the most powerful movements that now hold the field in the religious life of the present day. He would not have claimed to possess "all wisdom and all knowledge," neither did he like to be treated as a mere heretic and setter forth of strange doctrine. If

he failed to accomplish much as a peacemaker, others besides himself must share the responsibility for that failure. Perhaps another name he would have liked almost as much would be to be called a PIONEER. They are men who come to disturb things as they are in order to make way for better things. He had no other motive and may be left in honour with that claim.

It remains to add two other considerations ere we end these recollections and return to that quietness which is recommended by the Wise Man's precept, "When the dead is at rest let his remembrance rest."

The brevity with which Dean Fremantle refers, in his notes, to his home life indicates his own feeling about the sacred privacy of that life. It was the background of all his work, and there he could let himself unfold his real self in ways entirely natural and unconstrained. His memoranda show how much he cherished the friendships of his youth and how natural affection played an even greater part in his life than intellectual speculations and controversies. What he tried to do and largely succeeded in doing during the seventeen years of parochial life in Bryanston

Square was to radiate such natural affection from his home outwards and embrace all the members of his flock in an atmosphere of Christian fellowship. The same element of his nature is discernible in his life at Balliol, when he showed his desire to develop personal relations with the men in college. The roots of this side of his character went back into his own early life, and they found the same nourishment in the happy circle of his own house. When the first Mrs. Fremantle died, after a very long illness at Ripon, his children were all grown up and he was left alone. His eldest son, now Colonel Francis E. Fremantle, of Bedwell Park, and Member of Parliament for St. Albans, was living far away from Ripon, and his daughters, Mrs. Aitken and Mrs. Parry, were both married. Besides these he left also two sons, Henry, settled in South Africa; John, a Resident in Nigeria. Another son, Stephen, of the 2nd K.E.O. Gurkhas, died in 1910.

It was, then, a second great blessing in his life when in 1903 he married Miss Sophy Stuart, daughter of Major G. T. Stuart, whom he had

known for many years, and with whom the peace and happiness on which he depended at home returned to him in full measure and remained to the last. It was on Christmas Eve of 1916 that he entered into his rest. The natural joyousness of his spirit was never quenched even by the things that wounded him, and in his time of evening there was light.

The second consideration that is called for is a brief attempt to relate the opinions and work of the subject of these recollections to the present situation in the Church. As has already been said, it does not seem probable that Fremantle would have welcomed the new National Assembly if he had conceived it likely to lead to any narrowing of the boundaries of the National Church. On the other hand, supposing that Parliament itself adopts an attitude of frank friendliness and willingness to help the Church to gain ground rather than lose it in the national life, and supposing the Nonconformist churches show a willingness to forget old causes of division and to discover new causes of fellowship and reconciliation, then it is more than probable that Fremantle would have rejoiced to see that day

and would have been found at the side of those men who will give their time to achieve so blessed a consummation.*

It goes without saying that in questions of Biblical criticism his sympathies would have been with those who claim that every resource of knowledge and scientific investigation ought to be used in the service of the Church itself. And it is possible that he might have grown to perceive where the Broad Church party has hitherto been weak. At Oxford he had noted a certain tendency to be too negative. He might have outgrown the idea that a nation and church, as such, are convertible terms, and have apprehended the truer idea that a nation is a church potentially and that the great business of the Church in every nation is to make actual what is potential.

* That such an event was not beyond possibility is shown by the following sentence on page 42 of his very prescient pamphlet on "Lay Power in Parishes," published in 1869, in which he says: "And if it be found expedient hereafter to frame some general legislature for the Church apart from Parliament, this would be greatly aided by our having first elicited political Church life in the parishes."

# TWO APPRECIATIONS

# I

By THE RIGHT REVEREND LUCIUS F. M. B. SMITH, D.D., BISHOP SUFFRAGAN OF KNARESBOROUGH

FREMANTLE was Dean of Ripon Cathedral for upwards of twenty years. He loved his Cathedral, and amidst the many interests of his later life the care of that interesting and beautiful building had the first place.

It seems to be one of the necessary duties of a dean to collect large sums of money for his Cathedral. Dean Fremantle did not shrink from the task. His work upon the structure was the repair of the clerestory in the nave, the stonework of which had become very much decayed. Then he had the carved oak choir seats placed in the nave. Twice he raised considerable sums of money for the repair and improvement of the organ. He provided a new clock to replace the old one, which was worn out, and in 1911 he had the exterior of the minster thoroughly repaired.

Fremantle's preaching was intellectual, stimu-

lating, spiritually quickening and very practical. He held firmly the substance of the great truths of the Christian faith, but always endeavoured to express them in the terms of modern thought. He sought to meet the intellectual difficulties of his hearers, and to present old truths in new lights. There were some who thought that he conceded too much to objectors, and he was sometimes misunderstood and called a heretic. But he was able to help many questioning souls to retain their faith and keep within the Church many who without his guidance would have drifted away from it.

One of his publications was called "The Gospel of the Secular Life." The title may serve as a keynote to much of his teaching. He held that religion meant the faithful fulfilment of the common duties and tasks of life, and that all necessary and useful activities were to be regarded as acts of service and devotion to God. He lived what he practised. His devotion to duty, his generous charity, and his ready co-operation in every effort for the good of the community will long be remembered. His interest in the foreign missionary work of the Church was unfailing, and

he was one of the founders and constant supporters of the Navvy Mission Society.

His conception of the National Church was in substance the same as that of Dr. Arnold of Rugby. He considered that the Church and the nation were identical. The State was the nation organized for civil purposes, the Church the nation organized for religious instruction and worship. He regarded all who did not definitely repudiate Christianity as being by the very fact of their citizenship members of the National Church, whatever form of worship they practised or preferred. He claimed, and with strong arguments, that this was the great ideal of the great English reformers. With this wide conception of Churchmanship, he felt no difficulty about working and worshipping with his Nonconformist brethren, and he endeavoured to give practical expression to his convictions by frequently uniting with them for conference and prayer.

But the personal character of a man counts for more than the words he speaks or the works that he accomplishes. There were some who disliked his opinions, but all who were brought into contact with Dean Fremantle knew that he bore the mark

of a true disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ. "By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples if ye love one another." Love, showing itself in unfailing sympathy, constant kindness and unwearied efforts to do good, was the very essence of the man. No one who had dealings with him can fail to recognize this. Only those who were admitted to the inner circle of intimacy with him know his personal devoutness, the source of his strength and courage, his faithfulness, his charity.

Fremantle still lives in those whom he touched and influenced, encouraged and inspired, and through them in an ever-widening circle. He still lives in that great cloud of witnesses by whom we are surrounded as we run our earthly race.

## II

By THE REV. H. D. A. MAJOR, M.A., PRINCIPAL OF RIPON HALL, OXFORD

WHEN I went from Oxford to Ripon to become Vice-Principal of the Ripon Clergy College in 1906, the outstanding religious personality in Ripon, with the exception of Bishop Boyd Carpenter, was Dean Fremantle. He was present at all public meetings, and usually presided at those which had a religious and philanthropic object, and there were many such in those days in Ripon. The local Free Church ministers as readily as the local clergy looked on him as their religious leader. His gifts and graces fitted him admirably for his position. Dignified in appearance, courteous in manner, hospitable in social life, generous in his support of good causes, his interests and energy seemed to be devoted entirely to the moral, social and religious welfare of his community.

When the good Marchioness of Ripon died, and our Dean gave an address to the relatives and

tenantry of the deceased on the occasion of the unveiling of her monument, from the words of the apostle, "Not many noble are called," we all felt that he, like the noble lady he commemorated, was a blessed exception. He was without guile, without pettiness, without bigotry. Even those who thought little of the Church and spoke slightingly of the clergy, had a good word for the Dean.

Yet it is only right, if one is to give a correct impression, to add that while the Dean was personally beloved and respected, his Churchmanship was not regarded as entirely satisfactory by the more traditional type of Church people in Ripon. This was really due to three things. First, the Dean's orthodoxy was in doubt—a serious thing in a cathedral city. He had been charged publicly with not believing in the Virgin Birth of our Lord. As a matter of fact he did believe in it. What he did not believe was that the Virgin Birth was miraculous. Not many grasped this point, and those who did were not satisfied. Hence it was held generally that the Dean was not sound on the Incarnation.

The second thing about him that was not

appreciated in Church circles was what was called his "hobnobbing with Dissenters." It was felt that the Church gained nothing by such recognition of the existence of Dissent, and that the sin of schism seemed somehow to lose its exceeding sinfulness when the Dean led in prayer-meetings in which Dissenters took a conspicuous part.

The third thing—and this troubled the clergy more than the laity—was that the Dean's doctrine of the Church seemed to be Erastian. Charitable clergymen felt that the Dean was not altogether to blame for this. He had had bad associations. He had been a friend of Dean Stanley, who was a pupil of the great Dr. Arnold, and both of them were notorious Erastians. Moreover Dean Fremantle had had as his tutor the notable Dr. Jowett, and Erastianism was the least of the Master of Balliol's heresies. Somehow it did not seem natural for a Dean of Ripon to be an Erastian. The former Dean Fremantle had been a devout Evangelical, and those who remembered the uncle felt his nephew and successor ought more properly to have belonged to that school, but his early ecclesiastical associates had seen otherwise.

My own impression is that although the Dean's views of the Church were condemned, they were really not understood. They had been expounded with fullness and ability in his Bampton Lectures, but I doubt whether any of the parochial clergy of the Ripon diocese had read the lectures. It was much the same even in higher ecclesiastical circles. I remember the late Dean of York (Dr. Purey-Cust) saying to me on one occasion, "I don't understand your Dean's view of the Church. It seems to me that he always regards the Church as a branch of the Civil Service." That was not really a just criticism of Dean Fremantle's view, but it was a very common one. It suggested that the Dean regarded the Church as an organization which to all intents and purposes was as secular as the State. But this was absolutely to reverse the Dean's view. For him neither the State nor the Church was secular; both were sacred. For him the coronation of the English Sovereign was as deeply religious and significant a ceremony as the consecration of the English Primate. They symbolized the sacredness of the English State and the sacredness of the English Church. Both State

and Church were agencies of the Kingdom of God but with different functions. The Church was concerned with organizing the religious education and worship of the nation; the State was concerned with civic administration, etc. The Dean's view of the relation of Church and State in England might be compared with the relation of the Holy Roman Church to the Holy Roman Empire in the days of Hildebrand, save that the Hildebrandine ideal subordinated the civic to the ecclesiastical authority, whereas the Dean's ideal subordinated the ecclesiastical authority to the civic. The Dean held that this subordination was not only needful from the point of view of the civic authority, but that it was also needful for the ecclesiastical welfare. As he read the history of the English people, and he had no inconsiderable knowledge of it, it seemed to him that the close relationship of the English State to the English Church had been even more beneficial to the Church than to the State, although most needful to both. It was the State which had reformed the Church when the Church could not or would not reform itself. It was the State which had kept the Church comprehensive

and tolerant when it seemed disposed to be exclusive, bigoted and obscurantist.

It was felt, especially by High Churchmen, that the Dean's conception of the Church was detrimental to its spiritual authority and autonomy. As the Dean understood it the authority of the Church was not the political authority of an organization but the prophetic authority of spiritual and moral insight and utterance. Whilst he was anxious to preserve that condition which would secure prophetic authority, they seemed to be desirous of obtaining political autonomy. It was a conflict not so much of ideals as of the true nature of spiritual authority. His opponents felt that this authority resided in an institution with its rites and organization, viz. the Catholic Church, whereas he felt that it resided in Christian principles and personalities. The strength of the Dean's ideal will be best realized by those who read his interpretation of Church history in his Bampton Lectures. One sees there that the Christian Church appeared to the Dean to be in a general sense twofold. He saw it wherever and whenever human society manifested the spirit of Christ; he recognized

it also as existing in the company of those who had been enrolled for the purpose of making Jesus Christ known to mankind. These two main forms of the Church, he confessed, do not coincide, but we must seek to make them do so. Nevertheless "the possession of the spirit, not the name, is the matter of importance" (p. 291). The object of the Church is to secure the spiritual unity of mankind, and the ideal and universal Church is "redeemed humanity," and this includes within itself a number of churches of varied types, e.g. the family, the school, profession or trade, etc.

The Dean's conception of the sacraments was similar. Life abounded with sacraments—outward and visible things which were the channels of inward and spiritual blessing (p. 293). Parents, schoolmasters, artists, writers, scientists, architects ministered these sacraments, and their respective societies were branches of the Church. The supremely needful thing was that they should recognize the true nature of their calling. Had his ideal been the ideal of ecclesiastics from the days of Constantine the Great we might have lost the Catholic Church, but we might have

gained a Christian Europe. The best popular presentation of the Dean's view of the relation of the Church to the State, and so of the religious to the secular life, is to be found in Professor Henry Drummond's little book "The City without a Church." This ideal does not make the Church less sacred, although it renders it less concrete, but it turns the home, the factory, the shop, the police court into a church. It refuses to recognize the division of the duties and functions of life into sacred and secular. In so far as a man is a Christian all things become sacred to him. This ideal of the Church is so many-sided that it is apt to become elusive to temperaments which are not mystical and idealist. Yet it promises a consecration of every human activity and relationship which a more strictly ecclesiastical conception of the Church seems to lose. Anyone who studied the Dean's life would feel that he made this ideal practicable.

Henry D. A. Major.

Ripon Hall,
Oxford.

# PEACE AND WAR

# "EXCUSES FOR WAR"

*(A Sermon preached in Canterbury Cathedral on July 12th, 1885)**

ST. LUKE xxii, 36, AND ST. MATT. xxvi, 52: *"Then said he unto them, But now . . . . he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one." "Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."*

IT is a common thing for Christian preachers, especially at Christmas time, when the angels' song seems ringing again in the ear of Christendom, to contrast the words, Peace on earth, goodwill towards men, or the title Prince of Peace, with the fact that in both public and private life dissensions are rife, that families and small societies are honeycombed with petty strife, and Christendom itself, after nineteen centuries, is a great armed camp. Many attempts are made to account for this, as that human nature is corrupt, and that war and strife are a witness of our need

* Fremantle devoted the whole of his course of sermons at Canterbury in 1885 to "A Pleading Against War." The discourse on "Excuses for War" is selected as representative of the series and presenting with general accuracy Fremantle's views on "Peace and War."

of a Saviour. But perhaps what we have to consider is rather whether Christian teaching and influence has not been unfaithful to its task; and whether a great part of the evil would not cease if we were striving heartily to bring peace among men.

Has this always been so? Have the Church's teachers been always thus reticent on so important a subject? Have they always thought it sufficient to say, "We have no concern with it," or "War is not so bad as poltroonery or effeminacy," or "It is unavoidable," or even "It is a school of virtue"? Is such teaching the reflection of the teaching and spirit and purposes of the Master Himself? I propose to-day to give some review of Christian teaching such as may help us to see what is practicable and what we ought to do. And I begin with the teaching of our Lord.

I pointed out, when I spoke of our Lord's words, about settling quarrels by the intervention of others, First, that such words are not literal directions, but meant to infuse into us a right spirit which must freely work itself out according to the conditions in which we are placed; and secondly, that the ideal which the words of our Lord put before us is not immediately attainable,

and that the road towards it lies often in action which goes contrary to the letter of His words. This is eminently the case as regards the two sayings at the head of this discourse, which seem so contradictory to each other that we might suppose them designed to drive us away from literalism to consider the inner spirit of Christ. "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Are we to say, as Tertullian did, that Christ, when He disarmed Peter, made it impossible for any of His followers to be a soldier? That is quite contrary to experience, for many of His most faithful servants, like Havelock and Gordon in our day, have been soldiers. Then shall we take the other saying and suppose that our Lord ordered all His followers to go about armed with swords? There is no one, I suppose, who does not smile at the childishness of the disciple who said, "Lord, here are two swords." Evidently the Master meant to put in a vivid hyperbolical way the fact that His followers must deal with the world as it is. They had to do no longer with the happy circumstances of His earlier ministry among the simple enthusiasms of Galilee, but with the cold, hard world of fact, to the conditions of

which they must adapt themselves. Christ gives no order. What He teaches is this: The peace which properly belongs to the kingdom will not come in a moment. Strife will still continue, and you will have to take your part in it as best you can. Nevertheless peace is the law of the kingdom, and he who promotes strife or avenges himself will bring on himself a terrible recoil.

Our Lord was no dreamer, and He knew that He was sending out His disciples like sheep among wolves. But He certainly never meant that the sheep should turn into wolves. Not a word or action of His can be fairly quoted as encouraging the spirit of war. And equally certain it is that in the Apostolic teaching war is used only as a metaphor, except where, as in the Apocalypse, the convulsions of the political world are glanced at as the means by which the Kingdom of God will be ushered in. No thought of a war policy, or even of Christians serving as soldiers, was before the mind of the writers.

When Christianity extended widely through the empire this question of Christians serving in the Imperial armies began to be discussed, and the first instinct of the Christian teachers was to

answer that it was impossible. This was the answer made in the third century, alike by Tertullian for the Western and Origen for the Eastern Church. The heathen Celsus blamed the Christians as lacking in spirit because they refused to bear arms. Origen admits that this was so, but excuses them on the ground that they were occupied in the higher warfare of piety and prayer. In the four first centuries the number of Christians who became soldiers must have been but small. The funeral inscriptions which have come down to us, ten thousand in number, have been examined for this purpose, and it is found that among heathens one in nineteen were soldiers, among Christians only one in a hundred and seventy-six.

As Christianity became the religion of the empire, professed Christians no doubt were to be found largely in the ranks. Constantine had gained his victory fighting under the sign of the cross. When Julian died in battle the army chose Jovian, a Christian, to succeed him. Yet almost all the great fathers of the fourth century looked on the military calling as compatible only with a low state of conviction; there are many tales

of soldiers who at once on becoming Christians renounced their profession, and there is a record of a centurion Marcellus, in the fourth century (not a solitary case), who when he became a Christian, cast away his military belt at the head of his legion and suffered death as a deserter rather than resume it.

The power which a sincere Christian profession may have, unarmed, upon a wild and rapacious conqueror was tested when Pope Leo went forth to confront Attila, the leader of the savage Huns, and caused him to turn aside from Italy; or when Genseric the Vandal mitigated the sack of Rome at the intercession of the same Christian Bishop. At that time the Christian Church still condemned war, and its canons refused to admit to ordination men who had served in the army after baptism. But, in the wild times which followed, the leaders of the Church, having great influence and property, not only organized war in self-defence, but themselves led their troops. As early as the sixth century, three Christian bishops are mentioned as having slain men in war with their own hands, and when the dignitaries of the Church became great feudal lords, their presence in the battle-

field was common. Among our monuments in this Cathedral is one to the Archbishop Hubert Walter, who, when Bishop of Salisbury, led the English contingent in the siege of Acre under Richard Cœur de Lion, and, as Archbishop, quelled in person the king's refractory subjects. Bishops commonly carried the challenge with which wars were begun. Christianity was made to blend with war in the orders of knighthood, and in many strange customs, such as that of kissing the ground before the fight, which is believed to have been only a substitute for taking the earth into one's mouth, and this again to have been a kind of emblematic reception of the sacrament. Ships and guns were called after the names of Apostles, and still holier titles like that of the Holy Trinity. In the end of the Middle Ages the spectacle was seen of a Pope who was so much of a warrior that in his statue made by Michael Angelo he desired to be represented not with a Bible but with a drawn sword in his hand, and who not only superintended the siege of the city of Mirandola in person, but entered the walls through the breach over the bodies of the slain.

It is true that at times, even during the Middle

Ages, the Church authorities used their vast power in favour of peace. They set their faces steadily against private war, that great curse of those lawless times, and had a large share in its suppression. They at times instituted a truce of God, by which they prevailed upon the combatants to stay their hands. But for the most part their influence was unfelt in national struggles. They either did not interfere, or they were so mixed up in intrigues that their interference was of no avail. Indeed, they often instigated war. The painted tomb in our Cathedral recalls the story of Archbishop Chichele persuading Henry V to go to war with France, and forming the Kentish clergy into volunteer bands to defend the coast, in order to divert the Parliament and people of England from their design of confiscating the wealth of the clergy; and similar motives, as was clearly traced out by William Tyndale, underlay almost all the wars in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

When then men like Tyndale began to criticize the mediæval system freely by the light newly let in upon the world by the study of Scripture, they saw plainly that war had been one of the great means of introducing corruption into the Church.

They condemned it unanimously with unsparing words. Wycliff declared, as against the Friars, that man-slaying was odious in all, most of all in priests who should be vicars of Christ, and he urged the cause of peace by arguments which he knew would seem to men to be fatal to the existence of kingdoms.

Dean Colet, the first Englishman who read the Bible with eyes undimmed by tradition, preached again and again, both in the presence of the King and in his own St. Paul's, against the light ambition with which Henry VIII in his early days entered upon war, and dared to say that the most unjust peace ever forced on the nation was preferable to the justest war. Luther was so strong in his advocacy of peace that it was one of Sir Thomas More's charges against him that his doctrine led to absolute non-resistance. Unhappily the extreme theory of the unlawfulness of Christians in any case bearing arms was taken up by some of the sects which go by the general name of Anabaptists, and the recoil came first in the refusal of this tenet, then in a general allowance of war. In the articles of our Church it was at first asserted, as we find in the Latin copy of

them, that the magistrate might call on Christian men to wage a *just* war, but in the English edition all mention of justice was suppressed, and war in general declared to be lawful.

From that time, except in isolated protests, or in the earnest pleadings of George Fox and the Society of Friends which he founded, Christian teaching has accepted war without attempting to mitigate it. The Quakers, though they deserve all honour for their steady maintenance of their principles, yet, through accepting the words of Christ too much as a literal command, and making no allowance for the actual state of international affairs, have failed to exercise any serious influence. The pleadings for peace have come quite as much from the side of philosophy as from that of Christian teaching. Voltaire had a keen perception of the evil and the wickedness of war. The great German philosopher Kant, and the English philosopher Bentham, in the end of the eighteenth century, propounded plans by which war might be avoided, and, if they produced little immediate effect on the conduct of affairs, they left the verdict of their thoughtfulness on war as the great plague which needs to be stayed, and gave the

authority of their great names to schemes of arbitration and the concert of European nations, which have been taken up in our day by the societies for peace and international arbitration.

It must be confessed that these societies have as yet produced but a feeble impression. We have had no great movement in favour of peace. It was thought, indeed, by many, when Europe enjoyed nearly forty years without war after the exhaustion of the struggle with Napoleon, that an era of perpetual peace had dawned, and many such expressions of hope found vent at the time of the Great Exhibition of 1851. At that exhibition of industry hardly any warlike implements met the eye—a great contrast to the Exhibition of 1862 and all subsequent ones, when all nations seemed to have turned their inventive powers to the production of instruments of destruction. The Crimean war inaugurated the new era in which six vast struggles have taken place, including the terrible civil war in America, leaving Christendom full charged with unnatural discords, and habituated once more to the evil system under which men look to brutal force as the means of settling disputes among its members.

It cannot, indeed, be denied that each of these wars has had on the whole good results; the diminution of overweening influence of Russia and the emancipation of the Serfs, the freedom and unity of Italy and of Germany, the abolition of American slavery, the close of the Napoleonic régime in France, the emancipation of Servia, Roumania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Western Roumelia from the Turkish yoke, have made a vast and salutary change in the world. When we look at the hatred and jealousies which these struggles have left behind, and the confirmation they have given to the war spirit, we cannot but mourn that the evolution was not effected by peaceful means, those which are supplied by reason and constitutional freedom, by arbitration and the concert of European nations. So long as men are looking to war as the right method of arbitrament, and hold the false estimate of military virtues on which I dwelt last Sunday, we must be thankful that, amid all the horrors to which the nations subject themselves, truth and right still make progress. But we long for the better way, and each respite that we gain should be used to urge men into it.

## "Excuses for War"

The Christian teaching of our day has tended not to that better way, but to make excuses for the war spirit. Thirty-two years ago, when the Crimean war was being prepared, men welcomed the war-spirit partly from inexperience of it, partly from a strange feeling that we were beginning to fail in manliness because we had been so long at peace. Tennyson gave expression to this when he contrasted the cheating that went on in trade with the frankness of open war.

> "Is it peace or war? Better war, loud war by land and by sea,
> War with a thousand battles and shaking a hundred thrones."

But was there no better way out of the evils of peace than to throw back all peaceful progress by war? The Crimean war caused the withdrawal of the scheme of Parliamentary reform, the discussion of which afterwards agitated the country for ten years. Would not the carrying of that measure and the social progress sure to ensue upon it have been a much better employment for the energies of the nation than a war, all the objects of which could have been better gained by peaceful means? The Adulteration Acts have

been a much better and more Christian remedy for fraud than the war-spirit.

It is true that there sprang up about that time a school of teachers, of whom Charles Kingsley is the best known, whose great contribution to our religious life was to show that the manly and chivalrous qualities, courage, fearless pursuit of knowledge of all kinds, political rectitude, the free development of human powers, are to be blended and identified with Christianity. But the war, if it called forth this teaching, also marred it. No more was heard of the Christian socialism, in which these teachers had made their first essay, but only of killing the Russians. The tendency which invited the youth of England to emulate Fernando Cortez, as a kind of modern David, the tendency which put forward only the good side of the English buccaneers in the reign of Elizabeth, was hardly an unadulterated Gospel. You could not say of the heroes of "Yeast," or "Westward Ho!" that "They delighted not in an horse, and had no pleasure in the legs of a man;" and the irony which spoke of this tendency as muscular Christianity was certainly not misplaced.

But when, as in the celebrated sermon of Professor Mozley, at Oxford, an argumentative defence of war is attempted, we become aware of something hollow in the teaching, and the facts and the considerations which have been advanced in these sermons enable us to confront it and show its hollowness. Christianity, it is there said, recognized independent nations, and therefore recognized the right of war. But does independence justify mutual destruction? If Christianity recognizes individual rights, does it follow that a number of individuals who might be thrown together outside the bounds of civilization are taught by Christ to use brute force for the adjudication of their quarrels? No; their first thought must be to establish some power which should judge, not by force but by right, between them. The Church, it is said, only interferes with individual, not with national action. But it did interfere with national action in the days when it was a unity, and it was only because of its corruptions and divisions that it ceased to do so. War, it was said, gives a special mode for the exercise of the Christian virtue of self-sacrifice. We have shown that the peaceful Christian warfare against false-

hood and wrong, in which our Lord Himself led the way, gives a much ampler field for such devotedness. War, it was said, is only a trial of strength between Governments; the people are not excited to hatred. I refer again in refutation to the feeling of Frenchmen and Germans towards each other. There is no arbiter, it was said in excuse of war, between the nations, and it is no part of Christian duty to try and establish one. I have shown that arbitration has again and again prevailed to prevent war, and it needs but an earnest appeal to the better mind of Christendom to make it the recognized mode of settlement. A Christianity which does not feel it to be one of its most urgent duties to strive for this end is a Christianity which has belied its origin, for it is out of harmony with the universal love which actuated its Founder in life and death.

We need a new mode of teaching on this great subject, in harmony with the mind of Christ. If in times past the circumstances and customs of men have been such that war was an inevitable practice, and that Christian teachers in exhorting to manliness necessarily exhorted to war, this state of things is fast becoming im-

possible. There are two features in our present condition which largely change the circumstances with which we have to deal. First, militarism is becoming both absurd and ruinous. In a time when throughout Europe there is hardly more than one single reason for serious dispute, all the nations are armed as they never were armed before; invention is occupied with the machinery of destruction, the ultimate increase of which no one can calculate; yet fresh demands for its increase are constantly made. The expense weighs on the resources of all the nations, whose debts have more than doubled since the Crimean war began; and the crushing burden of this and of the conscription gives birth to socialism and nihilism. The other fact is that the classes which suffer most from war are coming into power. Politicians will need, thank God, to think henceforward much more of the wants of the poor. And we Christian teachers have to attempt to infuse into this process the spirit of Christ's care for the humble. Now is the time at which the preachers of peace may hope to gain a hearing. Without fanaticism, without imputation of evil motives, with a full consideration of the impediments which



AUBURN SEMINARY
LIBRARY
NEW YORK

prevent the immediate advent of the reign of peace, let us steadily discourage all aggressiveness in deed or word, let us point out the better way of settling disputes by reasonable arbitration, conference, and mutual concession; let us direct the energies of mankind into the channels of Christian beneficence, and the promotion of right relations among men. So shall we be true messengers of a God who is love, and of Christ the Prince of Peace.

# INDEX


A

Abbott, Dr. Edwin, 109
Aberfeldy, Perthshire, reading party at, 45
Acland, Dr., and Oxford, 39
All Souls, Fellowship at, 45; in residence, 53; system of election, 62 *et seq.*
Alliance, Evangelical, 55 *et seq.*
America, visit to, 92
Arnold, Matthew, 29
Assembly, National Church, 136, 139
Athletics, Fremantle and, 40 *et seq.*
Atonement, the, Jowett's essay and Fremantle's defence, 51; Dean Rashdall on, 52
Autobiography, Fremantle on, 5

B

Balliol College. (*See* Oxford)
Balston, Fremantle's tutor at Eton, 18, 68
Bampton Lectures, ix, 100, 117
Barnes, Dr., Master of the Temple, 130
Barnett, Canon, 84, 106, 127, 128
Barry, Dr., 79
Bayley, Sir Emilius, 43, 44
Belgian refugees at Ripon, 134, 135
Benson, Archbishop, in Rome, 48
Berlin, Fremantle in, 56
Biblical criticism, 140
Blomfield, Sir Arthur, architect, 67, 88
Bouvier, Auguste, 122 *et seq.*
Boyd-Carpenter, Bishop of Ripon, 119, 129, 131
"Broad Church" School, 4, 35
Brodrick, G., Warden of Merton, 28, 42, 44, 69, 78
Buckingham, Sir T. Fremantle M.P. for, 8
Bunsen, German Ambassador, 57
Butler, Arthur, at Eton, 19; at Oxford, 42, 44

C

Caird, Dr. Edward, Jowett's successor, 113
Campbell, Macleod, on the Atonement, 51
Campbell, Prof. Lewis, at Eton, 19; at Oxford, 42, 44; and "Essays and Reviews," 71
Canada, Fremantle in, 92
Canterbury, Fremantle's residence in, 93
Carnarvon, Lord, at Eton, 17
Cathedral Reform, Fremantle on, 132
"C.C.C.," the curates' club, 75
Cheam School, 9 *et seq.*

# Index


Church, Dean, "The Oxford Movement," 2
Church Reform, 79 *et seq.*
Claydon Rectory, 9; Fremantle as curate at, 50; Fremantle leaves, 53
Clerical duty, Fremantle's practice, 127
Colenso, Bishop, on the Pentateuch, 61, 70
Coleridge, Arthur, at Eton, 17
"Commerce, The Influence of, on Christianity," Fremantle's essay, 44
Conception, Immaculate, 46
Congreve, Richard, and Positivism, 35, 42
Conington, translator of Virgil, 34, 36, 65
Cottesloe, Lord, Fremantle's father, 6; Fremantle's brother, 12
Councils, parish, creation of, 79
Cuddesdon College Festival, 110
Curzon Street, Fremantle in, 76

D

Damascus, Fremantle at, 23
Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, 123, 124
Davidson, Strachan, of Balliol, 113
"Dictionary of Sacred Biography," 92
Drummond, Prof., "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," 96
Dufferin, Lord, Governor-General of Canada, 92

E

Eardley, Sir Culling, 55; death of, 76
Eardley, Miss Isabella, marries Fremantle, 76
Lady, death of, 76
Education, the system at Cheam, 9 *et seq.*
Fremantle on Eton and Oxford, 22, 23
Ephesus, Fremantle's ride to, 24
"Essays and Reviews," 61, 70; before Privy Council, 77 *et seq.*
Eton, 11 *et seq.*
Evangelical Alliance, 55 *et seq.*
Evans, drawing master at Eton, 12 *et seq.*

F

Fitzgerald, Lady, Fremantle's aunt, 48
Fox, Dr., of Bristol, 31
Frederick, the Emperor, 57
Fremantle, Colonel Francis E., M.P., 138
Henry, 138
John, 138
Stephen, 138
T. (Lord Cottesloe), 6
Sir Wm., Deputy Ranger, 21
W. A. C., death of, in India, 116
W. H. (Dean of Ripon), birth of, 6; at Cheam School, 9; at Eton, 11; travels abroad, 23; at Oxford, 27; Jowett's influence, 31 *et seq.*; wins University Prize, 44; takes M.A. degree, 45; Fellow of All Souls, 45; visit to Rome, 46; ordination, 50; in residence at All Souls, 53; vicar of Lewknor, 58; University Reform, 63; chaplain to Tait, 72; rector of St.

# Index


Fremantle, W. H. (*continued*)—
Mary's, Bryanston Square, 79 ; Church Reform, 79 *et seq.* ; Canon of Canterbury, 90 ; "The Gospel of the Secular Life," 93 *et seq.* ; Tutorial Fellow and Chaplain of Balliol, 98 ; Dean of Ripon, 117
Rev. W. R., the Dean's uncle, 9, 50

G

Garnier, Dean of Ripon and Lincoln, as vicar of Lewknor, 59, 62
Gibbon, Mr., and the "evangelical pastorate," 111
Gladstone, W. E., candidate for Oxford, 30 ; and Church Reform, 80 *et seq.* ; on "Père Hyacinthe," 124
Goldwin-Smith at Oxford, 34
Goschen, G., at Oxford, 30
"Gospel of the Secular Life, The," Fremantle's Oxford sermons, 93, 117
Granville, Lord, offers Fremantle an inspectorship of schools, 49
Greece, Fremantle in, 23, 25
Green, J. R., and the "C.C.C.," 75
Grey, Lord, and a Church Reform Society, 86

H

Halicarnassus, the theatre at, 24
Haweis, H. R., and the "C.C.C.," 75
Hawtrey, Dr., at Eton, 17
Harvard, Fremantle's lectures at, 117
Herbert, Sir R., at Eton, 19 ; at Oxford, 46
Hill, Miss Octavia, 84
Hope, Beresford, opposition to Church Reform, 80
Hunt, W., studies with Fremantle, 62
"Hyacinthe, Père," 120 ; secession, 123 ; marriage, 125 ; letter from, 126

I

Immaculate Conception, 46

J

Jerusalem, Fremantle's visit to, 23
Jodrell, Sir Edward, and Lewknor restoration, 67
Jowett, Benjamin, tutor, 28 ; Fremantle's first impressions, 31 *et seq.* ; religious teaching, 33 ; and Newman, 36 ; and Stanley, 54 ; "Essays and Reviews," 70 ; and Fremantle's treatise on "Essays and Reviews," 71 ; appoints Fremantle tutorial Fellow and Chaplain of Balliol, 98 ; religious observances, 105

K

Knaresborough, Bishop of, cited, 131 ; appreciation of Fremantle, 143 *et seq.*

L

Lansdowne, Marquis of, and University Reform, 63

# Index


"Lay Power in Parishes," Fremantle's pamphlet on, 86
Lewknor, Fremantle vicar of, 58 *et seq.*; church repair scheme, 66
Liberal Churchmen. (*See* "Modern")
Lightfoot, Bishop, in Rome, 48, 76; "Dictionary of Sacred Biography," 93
London, Fremantle on Church work in, 82
Lothian, Lord, at Oxford, 42, 44
Loyson. (*See* Hyacinthe, Père)
Lushington, Godfrey, at Oxford, 28, 46; and Max Müller, 61
Lyons, Lord, in Rome, 48
Lyttelton, Lord, 79

M

Macclesfield, Lord, at Lewknor, 60
Macdonnel, Prime Minister of Canada, 92
Maurice, Frederick D., 84
Mayo, Dr., principal of Cheam, 9 *et seq.*
Major, Rev. H. D. A., 129; appreciation of Fremantle, 147 *et seq.*
Miller, Dr., 79
Modern Churchmen, Society of, at Ripon, 130
Müller, Max, as language tutor, 61

N

Neff, Felix, 120, 122
Newcastle Medal, at Eton, won, 18
Newman, Cardinal, "Apologia," 2; decline of Tractarianism, 35; Jowett and, 36
"Noble" lectures at Harvard. (*See* William Noble)
Nonconformists and Oxford University, 29; and Church Reform, 80; in Church Council, 88; work with, at Ripon, 133; and reconciliation, 139
Nugent, Sir G., 7, 8, 9
Miss (Lady Cottesloe), 7, 8

O

Oxford, Fremantle's sermons at, 93
Oxford Movement, 1, 2, 29, 35; Garnier and, 59
Oxford Union for Prayer, 35
Oxford University, Fremantle goes up to Balliol, 27; Jowett as tutor, 28; liberalism of Balliol, 30; Fremantle takes M.A. degree, 45; Fellowship of All Souls, 53; Chaplain of Balliol, 98; at the Master's Lodge, 101; Balliol College and the Church, 110

P

Patteson, Coley (Bishop of Melanesia), at Eton, 15
Pattison, Mark, 29; "Essays and Reviews," 70
Palmer, William, "the cursing deacon," 49
Palmer, Bishop, of Bombay, 111
Pius IX and Père Hyacinthe, 123
Portcombe, mission room at, 66
Positivism at Oxford, 35
Privy Council, the, and "Essays and Reviews," 77 *et seq.*
Protestantism in France, 120 *et seq.*
Pusey, Dr., at Oxford, 31

# Index


R

Racquets courts at Oxford, 40 *et seq.*
Radstock, Lord, as lay evangelist, 31
Rashdall, Dean of Carlisle, on the Atonement, 52
"Redemption, The World as Subject of," Fremantle's lectures, 117
Reform in the Church. (*See* Church Reform)
Reiner, tutor at Cheam, 10
Religious Thought, New, ix
Ripon, Deanery of, Fremantle accepts, 117 *et seq.*; Ripon and the War, 119, 129, 130; Bishop Boyd-Carpenter, 119
Robertson, of Brighton, on the Atonement, 51
Rome, Fremantle in, 46 *et seq.*
Roundell, Charles, 69
Russell, Lord John, appoints Fremantle to St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, 79

S

St. Jerome, Fremantle's article on, 92, 100, 107, 112
St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, Fremantle as rector, 79 *et seq.*
Sandon, Lord, and Church Reform, 80 *et seq.*
Schaff, Dr., 112
"Secular Life, The Gospel of the." (*See* Gospel)
Smith, General Philip, 69
Smith, Rt. Rev. L. F. M. B. (*See* Knaresborough)
Stanley, Dean, tutor at Oxford, 29; Fremantle's intercourse with, 54, 76; and Church Reform, 79; and "Père Hyacinthe," 125, 128
Stephens, A. J., counsel, 78
Stuart, Miss Sophy, marriage to Fremantle, 138
Swanbourne, Bucks, Fremantle's birthplace, 6
Switzerland, tour in, 69 *et seq.*

T

Tait, Archbishop, and University Reform, 63 *et seq.*; Fremantle chaplain to, 70; work as Bishop of London, 74; appoints Fremantle Canon of Canterbury, 90; and Jowett's offer to Fremantle, 99
Temple, Archbishop, on Jowett, 35, 36; and University Reform, 63
Temple, Cowper, 79
Tennyson, Lord, Fremantle meets, 72
"Theology in its Changed Conditions," Fremantle's *Fortnightly Review* article, 109
Theology, School of, at Oxford, 38 *et seq.*; Jowett and, 103
Thiers, A., on Immaculate Conception, 46
Tractarian Movement. (*See* Oxford Movement)
Tunbridge, Fremantle examiner at, 68 *et seq.*
Turkey, observations on misrule, 24, 25

# Index


U

University Prize Essay at Oxford, 44
University reform, 63 *et seq.*

V

Vaudois, The, 120 *et seq.*

W

Wace, Dean, and the "C.C.C.," 75, 93
"War, A Pleading Against," Fremantle's sermons, 116
"War, Excuses for," Fremantle's sermon, 157 *et seq.*
War, the European, Ripon and, 119 *et seq.*
Watson, Arthur, at Oxford, 28
Waugh, Canon, 130
Welby, Lord, at Eton, 17
Westcott and the "Dictionary of Sacred Biography," 93
White-Thomson, Sir R., at Eton, 17
"William Noble's Lectures" at Harvard, 117
Wilson, editor of "Essays and Reviews," 71
Wiseman, Cardinal, in Rome, 48
Woburn, library at, 44
Wright, Henry, 43, 45



Printed by Cassell & Company, Limited, La Belle Sauvage, London, E.C.4
F15.9.21

92
Fremantel, W. H. F885
Recollections

92
F885